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The Classical Papers of
Mortimer Lamson Earle

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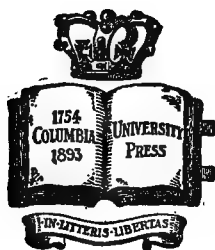
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Mortimer Langston Earle

THE CLASSICAL PAPERS
OF
MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE
WITH A MEMOIR



New York
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TO THE MEMORY OF
SIDNEY GILLESPIE ASHMORE

WHOSE UNTIMELY DEATH
IS AT ONCE A GRIEVOUS SORROW TO HIS FRIENDS
AND A SERIOUS LOSS TO AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP
THIS VOLUME
WHICH OWES MUCH TO HIS GENEROUS DEVOTION
IS DEDICATED
BY THE EDITORS

PREFACE

This book was undertaken by a committee of Professor Earle's colleagues, consisting of Professors Knapp, Lodge, Perry, and myself, with the object of putting on record in permanent form his chief contributions to classical learning. With the exception of the three plays he edited—the *Alcestis*, the *Medea*, and the *Oedipus Rex*—there will be found here practically everything left by Professor Earle, whether in papers already published or in manuscript ready for publication. The editors, knowing well Professor Earle's fastidious care in all work that he allowed to appear, were unwilling to include anything that he himself might have regarded as not sufficiently finished. Most of the papers, therefore, in the present volume have already appeared in the various learned periodicals. The principal new matter consists of some notes on Plato, *Republic*, Book I, which Professor Earle had intended to publish; a note, supplementary to his article on the Prooemium of Thucydides, on the Wall of Troy; all that remains of some extensive work on the Homeric Question which he had begun during the last year of his life; and some notes on the *Trachinians*. The editors are well aware that the arrangement of the book is open to criticism in many respects; the diversity of the material, collected from different periodicals, made it almost impossible to secure complete uniformity, even in such matters as the spelling of proper names. Scholars, however, will not allow these blemishes to impair their appreciation of the work.

In the Appendix has been included a selection from Professor Earle's poems and translations, as well as a fac-simile of his Greek script, which was exceptionally fine and clear.

The memoir is the work of the late Sidney G. Ashmore, Professor of Latin at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., one of Professor Earle's life-long and most intimate friends.

The unpublished MSS. and poems were furnished by Mrs. Earle whose sympathetic coöperation and material assistance in various other ways helped to make the publication of this volume possible.

The editors acknowledge with gratitude a generous gift from Professor Earle's cousin, Miss Caroline Allen Potter, towards the expenses of publication.

Thanks are here extended to the editors of *The American Journal of Archaeology*, *The American Journal of Philology*, *The Classical Review*, *Revue de Philologie*, *Mnemosyne*, and *The Bookman*, for their cordial permission to republish the articles of Professor Earle, which appeared in these periodicals.

Professor Carroll N. Brown, of the College of the City of New York, kindly gave the editors the benefit of his excellent knowledge of Modern Greek, in connection with Professor Earle's poems in that language. Help in copying was rendered by Miss Lucile Kohn and Miss Pearl C. Wilson, and in the preparation of the bibliography by Miss Lucy Sherman, all former pupils of Professor Earle. The proof has been revised throughout by Professor Knapp and myself.

G. M. HIRST.

New York, Jan. 1, 1912.

CORRIGENDA

P. 75, footnote, for XXIV (1903) read XXIV (1893).

P. 145, footnote, for ΥΠΟCΤΑΥΟΥΝ read ΥΠΟCΤΑΥΡΟΥΝ.

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When death, all-vanquisher, from his dark prow
 Beckons to flee,
May he with Grecian thyme wreathe this cold brow,
 Hellas, in thee!

Then like the daemon-souls, in ancient days
 Fabled to be,
May I haunt mountain heights, lapped in soft rays,
 Hellas, in thee!

Mortimer Lamson Earle.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE

Mortimer Lamson Earle was born in New York, Oct. 14, 1864, and died in New York, Sept. 26, 1905. He was the only child of Mortimer Lent Earle of New York and his wife, Mercy Josephine, daughter of Henry Allen of Providence, R. I. The founder of the family in America was one Edward Earle, who came to this country from England in 1649, at the age of 21, and settled in New Jersey, on the island of Secaucus, where the old Earle homestead is still standing (1909), with a stone on which is carved "Edward Earle, 1689". This Edward Earle and his son Edward received various commissions from the King of England to important public offices in Bergen County, N. J., and were both of them men of wealth, position and influence. There were two other Edwards in the direct line of descent to the subject of this sketch, of whom one held a Captain's commission from King George III. The other, two generations later, became well known as a physician in New York, where he sacrificed his life to the cause of duty and philanthropy during the cholera season of 1849. Edward, the physician, married Margaret Elizabeth Lent and was the grandfather of Mortimer Lamson Earle.

In the Lent family, two ancestors of Mortimer Lamson Earle distinguished themselves as officers in the Continental Army. Another notable ancestor on the Lent side came from Holland to New Amsterdam in 1647 as Secretary to Governor Peter Stuyvesant. The name of this young man was Barend Resolved Waldron, Jr. He filled various public positions of trust, and proved himself to be both a true statesman and an able diplomat. The mother of Mortimer Lamson Earle was of English and New England descent and inherited all the sterling qualities of her race, independence of character, a deep sense of honour, fine sensibilities, and high religious ideals. The father was a man of business in New York and is said to have possessed a personality of unusual charm and attraction.

Mortimer Lamson Earle spent the earlier years of his life in New York and its vicinity; he was prepared for college, in part at the Ashland Public School of East Orange, New Jersey, in part by

private tutors ; but he did much to prepare himself, without aid from others, and entered Columbia University in 1882. In his boyhood he was cut off from much of that home life which falls to the lot of most children, because he was an only child, and lacked that association with others of his own name and condition which goes far toward rendering childhood happy. He was thrown in upon himself and his own resources, and became in consequence somewhat introspective, and more than ordinarily thoughtful. Owing partly to this and partly to weak ankles, a physical weakness which he afterwards outgrew, he was averse to the usual games and sports in which children commonly engage. Yet there was nothing churlish or forbidding in his nature. His disposition was cheerful, and his very thoughtfulness was often the occasion of his becoming a leader and a favourite among his schoolmates.

One thing in particular contributed largely to this result. This was his love of the beauties of nature, a sentiment which in his case was more than usually developed—if we consider his years. He studied the habits of insects, made a collection of butterflies, learned the scientific names of plants and animals, and was always ready to impart his information and give his decision, whenever his playmates came to him with questions and problems. In fact, so obviously did his tastes lie in the direction of nature-study that his career would probably have taken a technical and scientific direction had not other influences turned his thoughts to the pursuit of literature and language.

On entering Columbia College he found there a fixed curriculum. The elective system had not then developed into what afterwards rendered possible a wide choice of subjects, even for the entering Freshman. Greek and Latin were prescribed from the start and to them he applied himself with diligence. His intimate friend, Mr. William Ogden Wiley, was then in the Senior Class at Columbia College, and being convinced that this quiet, studious boy had in him the making of a scholar, he took the young Freshman to see Mr. Augustus Chapman Merriam, who was then at the height of his promise as Professor of Greek. Professor Merriam was soon convinced of the abilities and scholarly tastes of his pupil and became deeply interested in his progress. The friendship that ensued continued with ever deepening intensity until Professor Merriam's untimely death, in January, 1895. Thus young Earle was marked out for a

scholar, whose chief interest lay in the study and interpretation of the Greek literature and language. But there was nothing narrow about his attainments; his scholarship was as broad as it was thorough, and all that he has given to the world in his writings exhibits that breadth of knowledge which implies familiarity with the collateral branches of art and architecture and archaeology, and whatever else is of genuine value to the true classicist.

His performances during the Freshman year at college were noteworthy only so far as his Greek studies were concerned. He came off, however, with three prizes at the end of his Sophomore year—one in each of the departments of Greek, Latin and History. It was during the summer immediately preceding his Junior year, when Earle was about twenty years of age, that he began a series of diaries which are remarkable for the fact that they are written throughout in a foreign tongue. No less than three languages find an important place in these records. One of these languages is Latin, another German, and the third is modern Greek. The last he learned during a visit to Greece at the time when Professor Merriam was in Athens, and in charge there of the American School of Archaeology. As his purpose in writing his diaries was merely to acquire practice in handling the languages just named, and as the subjects about which he writes are chiefly those most nearly connected with his studies and investigations, it is not surprising that very little is found in these interesting documents which can be said to throw light on the history of his life.

Nevertheless, one may gather from them indications of his trend of thought and of the general character of his reading, at a time when his mind was taking shape and his literary tastes were forming. For example, while he was still an undergraduate, he read the New Testament in Greek, Cicero's letters and "De Fato", as well as Emerson's Essays, Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic, Darwin's Origin of Species and other books of an equally serious character, besides a definite amount of ordinary Latin which he had determined to add daily to whatever other studies his fancy might suggest.

At an early period in his career he complains of lack of progress in his Latin studies, and gives expression to his feelings in a remark which many of the Latin teachers of to-day would do well to take to heart—a remark which shows that he was taking his study of the Classics very seriously: "Mihi non multum in Latine scribendo

progredi videor, sed multo melius scriberem, non dubito, si verutum haberem magistrum, qui non aliter uteretur hac lingua quam propria, id est Anglicana. Mihi non dubium est quin turpissimum sit magistrum in lingua docenda constituere qui cognitionem non habeat intimam linguae ei commissae."

One of Earle's personal characteristics was a tendency to self-depreciation; this was undoubtedly due to despondency, to which he was subject even in his undergraduate days; he seemed troubled by thoughts which not infrequently take possession of a young man's mind at this period of his life—thoughts bearing upon the position of man with reference to nature, and upon man's eternal destiny. In one of his entries he hopes to be an alumnus in two years, when perhaps he will "see more clearly what now troubles him", for "*sol in animo occidere videtur*" he says, after having interested himself in composing an imaginary dialogue between Calvin and Newman on the "*Doctrina fati liberaeque voluntatis*". Moreover his high ideals rendered it difficult for him to appreciate his own attainments; the latter seemed to him always to fall short of the goal. Although this tendency was a sign of merit, yet it pointed also to the habit of introspection, and did not augment his happiness. Results which would have been sources of encouragement to others were to him something of the reverse, for they indicated to his mind only the inadequacy of his efforts to secure perfection. His friends viewed these peculiarities of his temperament with wonder, for they realized that they were hardly justified by the facts. The record of his college course shows clearly that he was far beyond the average man of his years in all that is allied to scholarship and learning. He won no less than five scholarships, of which three were in Greek, one in Latin and one in History. These scholarships were prizes of one hundred dollars each. The subject of his graduating thesis was John Milton, whose writings, as he tells us in one of his Latin diaries, had had a very great influence in the formation of his spiritual beliefs.

At the time of his graduation, in 1886, the fellowship in letters was assigned to him. This gave him five hundred dollars per annum for three years, and enabled him not only to serve as tutor in Columbia College, but also to become a student at the University of Bonn and at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Both in Germany and in Greece Earle made good use of his time.

His knowledge of German rendered his Greek studies at the University of Bonn both easy and interesting and enabled him to absorb there with unusual rapidity all that was of immediate importance to his purpose. He attended lectures on archaeology both at Bonn and Berlin, and devoted much time to the casts and originals in the great museums. It was the good fortune of the writer to meet him in Berlin in the summer of 1889 and to take note of his studies and his methods.

It was an inspiration in itself to hear him talk on the subject of archaeology, to take in the points which he made in reference to ancient art, and to learn from him the distinctions which expert knowledge is wont to make in the matter of earlier and later schools of statuary and architecture. Prof. Earle's talents were well understood by Prof. Merriam, who, in the years 1887-1888, was director, as has been said, of the American School at Athens. On Earle's first visit to Athens, in the autumn of 1887, Prof. Merriam placed him in charge of excavations which the school was at this time conducting on the site of ancient Sikyon, and with the happiest results, for Earle not only uncovered an interesting theatre, but also a marble statue of Dionysos, which is now preserved in the National Museum at Athens. The statue was of life size, and a cast of it is now on exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. It was this statue that Earle took for the subject of his thesis for his degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The thesis, written in Latin, was never published.¹ But in a letter to the *Evening Post* of February 6th, 1888, Earle speaks of the "importance of the statue as being the first considerable example of Sikyonian sculpture found on the old site".

Other things also engaged his attention during the two years of his early visit to Athens, for he returned to New York bringing with him a practical knowledge of the modern Greek tongue, which he was able not only to speak but also to write with fluency and even elegance. Such acquirements as these implied a familiarity with Greek character and Greek lands, such as few of his colleagues in the colleges of America could hope to attain in so short a time.

He made in all four visits to Greece. The second was in the summer of 1891, when he conducted further excavations at Sikyon; the third and fourth he made, in the company of his wife, in the sum-

¹[The original copy is in the possession of his widow. See article published below pp. 234-46.]

mers of 1903 and 1905, visiting many of the Greek islands (including Thera and Crete) as well as the mainland. The congenial sights and atmosphere of the country he loved so well seemed to transform him into a different being—to make him light-hearted and radiantly happy. He felt a kinship with all he saw and it was as if he had come back home.

On his return to New York, in 1889, his services were almost immediately in demand. He had already received the degrees of M.A. (1887) and Ph.D. (1889) from Columbia University, and very soon he was appointed Instructor in Greek at Barnard College, which had just opened its doors to young women who were seeking the benefits of a liberal education. This post he filled from 1889 to 1895, and by the thoroughness and brilliancy of his instruction he awakened in his students a passion for Greek, and established a tradition of classical study which has persisted to the present time.

He also had a joint appointment for a while in Columbia College as a tutor in Greek.

Meanwhile on June 4, 1892, Prof. Earle was married to Ethel Deodata, daughter of George Evertson Woodward, of New York City. This union was a remarkably happy one, for Mrs. Earle's intense sympathy with his aims and ideals was a source of constant inspiration to him, while her broad culture and intimate knowledge of modern languages made her coöperation of peculiar value. His home was sacred to him, and his attitude towards domestic life and its responsibilities was beautiful and unselfish. His passionate devotion to his wife, his exquisite tenderness and chivalry and his exalted ideal of marriage are revealed in many of his letters and even in his Latin diary. He remained a lover to the last, and in his fatal illness, when his wife too lay stricken with the same fever, his one thought was to save her, and he died with her name on his lips.

It is interesting to note here the family connection of Mrs. Earle with Columbia University.

Her four times great grandmother, Charity Floyd Nicoll, was united in second marriage, in 1725, to Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson (1696-1772) first President of King's (now Columbia) College, from 1754 to 1763. She died in 1758.

Their son, William Samuel Johnson (1727-1819) J.C.D. Oxford, LL.D. Yale, became the first President of Columbia College, from 1787 to 1800, after it had changed its name from King's College.

Mrs. Earle's ancestor, Benjamin Nicoll, Jr. (1718-1760), a distinguished lawyer and half-brother to Dr. William Samuel Johnson was one of the founders and charter-members of Columbia College, and one of its first Governors. His son, Samuel Nicoll, M.D. (Mrs. Earle's great great grandfather) (1754-1796) was Professor of Chemistry in Columbia College from 1792 until his death.

After Earle became Instructor in Greek at Barnard College he founded a Greek club which he called the *Ἑλληνικὸς Σύλλογος*, for the purpose of reading the Greek classics with a few choice, kindred spirits among his friends and associates. The first meeting was held on Oct. 2, 1891. The initial members, besides himself, were William Ogden Wiley, Clarence Hoffman Young and Henry Jagoe Burchell, Jr.; to which later were added James Dennison Rogers and Charles Sears Baldwin, besides occasional visitors.

The Syllogos met regularly once a week, in the evening, chiefly in Earle's own study, and continued to exist until he left New York in 1895. He sent out to each member regular notices in Greek of the meetings and carefully kept the minutes of the Syllogos in Greek in a book still preserved by Mrs. Earle.

In 1895, Prof. Earle accepted a call to Bryn Mawr College, where for three years he bore the title of Associate Professor in Greek and Latin.

In 1898, he returned to his former post in Barnard College which was then about to become a part of Columbia University. Two years afterwards he was promoted to the professorship of Classical Philology in Columbia University, a position which he held until his death, in 1905.

His life was suddenly terminated, at the early age of forty, by typhoid fever contracted in Sicily after a summer spent, with his wife, in Dalmatia, Greece and Crete. The pathetic circumstances of their long voyage homeward from Palermo, when both husband and wife lay at the point of death with the same disease, rendered peculiarly tragic the end of his serene and well-ordered career.

In the administrative work of the University Earle filled several official positions. He was the first appointed secretary of the Faculty of Barnard College under its newly organized relations with Columbia University, and was chairman of its Committee on Ad-

missions from the date of its establishment in 1900 till January 1905. He was secretary also of the Division of Classical Philology in Columbia University till 1903; and from 1903 until his death he served as its chairman. He had been reelected chairman a short time before he died.

The American Philological Association had enrolled Earle among its members as early as the year 1890, and elected him to the Vice-Presidency in 1902—a position which he filled with distinction for three years. His death, in September 1905, alone prevented his elevation to the Presidency, an honour that could not have failed to become his at the regular meeting of the Association in the following December. Prof. Earle was a member of the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Dialect Society, the Egypt Exploration Fund, and of classical clubs in New York and Philadelphia.

The writer can bear personal witness to the superior excellence of Professor Earle's lectures and papers, many of which he was privileged to listen to at the gatherings of the American Philological Association, and also at the Classical Club in Columbia University.

Professor Earle's long and varied experience in teaching, both at Barnard and Bryn Mawr Colleges, will perhaps lend particular interest to his views on the education of women. Some of these views are contained in the following extract from an article by him on the education of women which appeared in the *Columbia University Quarterly*¹ . . . "If the college education of women is to be what it should be, it must be broad without shallowness, minute without pettiness; it must be so conducted that the whole structure may be constantly regarded as well as the parts; it must be fitly framed together—vertebrate, not invertebrate. We must have the star, as well as the wagon. Is not the same true of the college education of young men? In a word, we have not merely an intellectual problem before us, but a moral problem in the truest sense. Character must be built up in college. Honest study, honest thinking, a regard for real intellectual growth and acquisition must be stimulated. Students must be led to regard what they get into their heads and hearts, rather than how high they are rated on examination reports. They must regard the weightier matters of the law,

¹[For June 1900, pp. 231-234.]

tithe the mint and cummin as they will . . . The element of sex can perhaps be as easily eliminated from education as from other departments of human activity. We all know how easy that is. It is, after all, to the common ground of intellectual life that we have principally to address ourselves in liberal education rather than to the ill-defined border land of differences based on sex. It may fairly be asked whether we have as yet defined that border land well enough to keep surely outside it, if we so desire."

As a classical scholar, Prof. Earle may be ranked as one of our foremost Americans. In fact, he won recognition in two continents, and had given rich promise of even greater distinction when his life was cut short in the midst of his brilliant career. Abundant testimony to his scholarship and high character is afforded by his colleagues in various college faculties, and by his many other friends in all parts of the world. Let us recall for the moment a few of the things that have been said about him by those who knew and worked with him.

Prof. Edward Delavan Perry, of Columbia University, refers to his scholarship in the *American Journal of Philology*.¹ Prof. Perry's words are as follows: "As a scholar, Prof. Earle occupied a position almost unique among living Americans. While a well rounded classicist, with actual achievement in archaeological work to look back upon, his chosen field was discussion and interpretation of the text of Greek and Latin authors, and his contributions to the better understanding of Greek and Latin literature were very many. With the palaeography of Greek and Latin manuscripts and with the labours of earlier scholars in editing and interpretation he had an extraordinary acquaintance, perhaps unmatched in this country. He was in constant correspondence with classical scholars here and abroad, who delighted to ask his opinion on disputed points."

Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, of Harvard University, pays him the following tribute:² "By Prof. Earle's untimely death, the United States loses one of its most gifted scholars and Columbia University one of its most effective and beloved teachers . . . He was intellectually honest to the core. He was possessed by the scholarly instinct to the highest degree. Critical in his attitude of thought and refined in his taste, he permitted nothing to pass that seemed to him shallow, pretentious or frigid. He was a hater of shams, above all of the sham of half knowledge. His own knowledge was

¹[Vol. xxxi. No. 4.]

²[See *The Classical Review* for March, 1906.]

varied and exact, but he made no display. His short life, filled with devotion to high ideals, will remain an inspiration to the many friends who mourn his loss."

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, refers to his death in words of sincere interest and appreciation.¹ "In the death of Dr. Earle, the University and American classical scholarship lose one of their brightest ornaments. Patient, cautious and persistent, Dr. Earle had won for himself a place in the front rank of American classical scholars and teachers. His contributions to classical philology are numerous and important, and his work in the classroom and in the seminar was of unusual excellence. Dr. Earle was of the type of scholar that no university can afford to be without, for it is a type to which scholarly ideals and scholarly standards are all in all."

Professor Charles Foster Smith, of the University of Wisconsin, has expressed himself in the following terms in a letter to Mrs. Earle: "I always believed in him; we were all better for having known him, and traditions of his scholarship will linger, not only in Columbia University, but all over America. Such a life, short, all too short, helps to keep up the standards."

Earle became widely and favourably known both in Europe and in the United States by his many articles on classical subjects in general, and in particular on the subject of textual criticism. These articles were published in such learned periodicals as *The American Journal of Philology*, *The Classical Review*, *The Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, *The American Journal of Archaeology*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, *Revue de Philologie*, *Mnemosyne*, and a few others. He had contributed also to the volume entitled "*Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*", published by Macmillan & Co., 1894.

Some of Prof. Earle's papers were notable for the fact that they were written in Latin, a time-honoured custom, which in America at least has been more often honoured in the breach than in the observance. As these papers are given in the body of this book, their titles will be omitted here.

But his best literary work is represented in his editions of three

¹[See President's Annual Report for 1905, p. 34.]

plays of the Greek dramatists—the *Alcestis* of Euripides (Macmillan, 1894), the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles (American Book Co., 1901), and the *Medea* of Euripides (American Book Co., 1905). Concerning the *Medea*, Prof. Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, of Johns Hopkins University, who is always a severe critic, speaks as follows:¹ “Prof. Earle has displayed in his edition of the *Medea* the same nice knowledge of Greek idiom and the same faculty of neat statement that made his *Oedipus* something out of the common run of college text-books. Prof. Earle has occupied an almost solitary eminence among American Hellenists as a conjectural critic, and so we find that in his edition of the *Medea* he has incorporated into the text a considerable number of conjectures of his own.”

In *The Classical Review* for Oct., 1905, a further note of praise is sounded—this time from across the ocean. An English scholar of wide repute has a word to say not only about Prof. Earle's edition of the *Medea*, but also about its author. “The book”, says Dr. A. W. Verrall, of Cambridge University, “is interesting, of substantial merit, acceptable and praiseworthy; its notes are terse, and the introduction is a copious and agreeable essay in which archaeology has its turn”, and again, “the American author was a well-read scholar of competent judgment,” a remark implying much in the way of praise, coming as it did from a critic who is himself in the foreground of foreign scholarship, and whose nationality is least of all suggestive of a tendency to overstatement.

Professor Bernard Haussoullier, editor of the *Revue de Philologie*, Paris, in answer to a request for permission to reprint Earle's contributions to that journal, wrote as follows to Mrs. Earle: “Je félicite ses anciens collègues de l'idée, si juste, de réunir ses articles. Sans doute il était homme à avoir de l'action sur ses élèves, et son souvenir vivra dans leur coeur; mais l'étranger saluera avec reconnaissance un volume qui le défendra contre l'oubli. Reliquiae! Encore que ce mot renferme tant de tristesse! La *Revue de Philologie*, à laquelle il a fait honneur, sera fière d'être représentée dans ce recueil, et vous avez l'autorisation de reproduire dans votre volume tous les articles du maître que vous voudrez. Vous voudrez bien me tenir au courant de la publication de ce volume, pour que je

¹[See A. J. P. 1905.]

puisse l'annoncer à mes lecteurs de la Revue de Philologie. Ce sera pour moi l'occasion de rendre hommage à votre cher absent."

Many other personal tributes to Prof. Earle's accomplishments and character might be given here, but it seems best to err rather on the side of restraint than on that of profusion; "*μηδὲν ἄγαν*" would certainly have been his modest advice regarding such a question. Nevertheless, one cannot forbear to quote here some remarks of Prof. Elmer Truesdell Merrill, formerly of Trinity College, Hartford (now of Chicago University), which formed a part of the address delivered by that well known scholar in January, 1906, at a meeting in Washington of the American Philological Association. Prof. Merrill, who was the president of the Association, gave expression to the general sense of mourning, for the loss of so dear a friend, in the following words: "I cannot speak to you this evening without recalling him, my senior colleague in the vice-presidency of the American Philological Association, who would, in the ordinary course of our action, have been standing where I now stand. You will also have been thinking of him; and I do not need to speak of that marked mental power, great attainment, and unflagging zeal for the intellectual life which have been so prematurely removed from us. 'Light lie the earth upon him!' Nay, let me rather change the hopeless, though tender, pagan farewell for the noble words of the ancient Christian prayer, 'May he rest in peace, and light eternal dawn upon him,'—whose course among us was ever toward the light!"

These remarks have hitherto been confined to the sphere of individual appreciation of Prof. Earle's general merits and attainments. But some of the notices concerning him were of a corporate nature, as when the *Classical Journal* (for April 1906), for example, editorially regrets his loss and publishes a favorable comment on his edition of the *Medea*. But perhaps the most significant and important of such tributes to his memory is embodied in the resolutions adopted by the Faculty of Philosophy of Columbia University, in the month of November, 1905, a few weeks subsequent to the date of his funeral: "The most striking characteristics of Prof. Earle were his thoroughness of scholarship and fidelity to the duties he had undertaken, added to a singular acuteness of intellect and open-mindedness, which made him accessible to a wide variety of in-

terests. His teaching was thorough and exacting; he was a determined foe of superficiality, and the high standards which he set before his students were exemplified in his work. To advanced students his advice was invaluable, for the rich stores of his learning were unstintingly put at their disposal. He has been compared with the great scholars of Holland,—an indefatigable reader with an unusually retentive memory. His independence of judgment was very great, but he was generally his own severest critic. His real and lasting contributions to a better understanding of Greek and Latin literature were very numerous. In his death not only Columbia University, but the whole world of scholarship has suffered a grievous loss."

Such is the corporate testimony of his own University to Prof. Earle's learning and general worth, and though the reader will recognize a part, at least, of the resolutions as a repetition of what has been said by others, yet it should be borne in mind that repetition in this case is in no sense intentional on the part of the several witnesses. If different minds have spoken the same word on the same subject they have done their thinking independently—a fact that enhances and strengthens the value of their testimony. Indeed one may almost say of the many tributes to the great merits and capabilities of the man whom it was the delight of all who knew him to honour, *ex uno disce omnes*. His qualities were such as to command a most general admiration—a fact that can be illustrated only by a multitude of citations.

Perhaps therefore we may be permitted to quote a few lines from certain resolutions of the Class of 1886 of Columbia University, which show the esteem in which he was held by those who were his associates during his undergraduate days: ". . . We, his classmates at Columbia, have met to express our profound sorrow at the death of Mortimer Lamson Earle, to make record of our love for the lost friend, and to add our tribute to the (general) recognition of his genius and scholarship. We knew him for twenty-four years. We admired the nobility which won him the highest student honours; we saw with pleasure his growing prestige, and we took pride that it was our comrade at Columbia whose ripened scholarship had placed him in the front rank of American teachers of the Classics . . .

(hence) this meeting where we have gathered in memory of our

friend of college days and later, who shared our sports and led us in our studies, who wrote the best college verse and best examination papers. His keen and discriminating wit made him one of the most delightful of companions. He endeared himself to us in life by his human sympathies, and in his going away he is an irreparable loss."

Nor can it be out of place here to repeat a few words expressed in the form of a resolution by his pupils of Barnard College, who assembled at the time of his death to do honour to his memory: ". . . We grieve at the death of our beloved teacher, and mourn a loss which, as a college, we feel most keenly. We knew his high rank among scholars; we honoured his single-hearted devotion to pure learning. Yet, to us, he even more strongly represented the warm personal friend, who spared no effort to kindle his own high ideals in each individual student under his care. In return for this sympathy, we gave him that peculiarly tender affection which springs from gratitude for wider outlook and personal inspiration; and in his death each one of us is conscious of an irreparable loss."

One of Earle's most interesting and valuable characteristics was the influence he exerted in his daily teaching. He was not only an author and a man of research; he was also a teacher of the first rank. It is difficult to state in exact terms what it is that constitutes the successful teacher. Is it power or inspiration? Undoubtedly inspiration is a part of it. But the power to inspire may be existent and yet limited, and most pupils will eventually weary of the most inspiring teachers. After making all allowances, however, we shall merely be stating a fact if we say that Prof. Earle led on his pupils to a love for Greek literature and to a true appreciation of its beauties. His ability in this respect was beyond the ordinary, and became especially noticeable in connection with the Greek Seminar in Columbia University, which was mainly under his leadership during the last five years of his life. A significant feature of his method was one which would ordinarily be supposed to militate against rather than to conduce to success. In Germany, the custom still holds of conducting the Greek and Latin Seminar in the Latin tongue. As the seminar method of instruction in America is a distinct importation, Prof. Earle felt that this tradition ought to be respected. Accordingly, in his weekly Greek Seminar for graduate

students at Columbia, he lectured regularly in Latin; this revival of a custom, at one time well-nigh universal, was not only acceptable throughout the University on Morningside Heights, but was also the means of attracting thither not a few graduate students from other institutions of learning.

Some idea perhaps of the character and extent of his reading, and of what he exacted of himself in the way of scholarly endeavour, may be gained from certain notes, headings, and brief remarks, which have been collected since his death. Of them the writer would note the following, which, however, are but a few of the many good things which seemed to fall from his pen, like the crumbs from the rich man's table. For example: "I must read the Atticists with Schmidt's *Atticismus*"; "I must read the history of Greek literature in Christ and Bernhardt"; "I must finish Grote and read Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums*"; "I must go on with the Greek historians, Polybius, Diodorus, Appian"; "I must go on with Greek dialects, Smyth's *Ionic*, Bechtel, etc."; "I must go on with Greek inscriptions"; "I must go on with Kontos and Cobet"¹; "I must take up the Alexandrian writers"; "I must go on with the Roman poets of the first century A. D."; "I must re-read Cicero"; "Ernesti's *Clavis* to be used".

Nor is this all, but it is enough perhaps to indicate the general trend and nature of his studies in the two literatures and in the critics. It may well be a matter of wonder how far he would have gone and to what heights he might have attained had he been spared to continue his work. It is interesting also to observe the character of the brief sayings, already referred to, in which he seems to sum up the principles which guided his studies, and which under his leadership became the guides also of many, if not of all of his pupils. Some of these sayings may seem somewhat trite to the casual reader, and are so acknowledged even by himself; yet they serve to show the drift of his intellect and to throw light on his sanity and penetration. They are moreover of genuine value to the young student of whom, doubtless, he was always thinking. Thus, among his papers have been found such words as these, which are clearly in the nature of

¹In the account given of Carolus Gabriel Cobet in Sandys' History of Classical Scholarship, Vol. III., the present writer sees much to remind him of Mortimer Lamson Earle.

advice to the youthful aspirant for classical attainment: "Learn to read Greek by the light of nature. Few do this; few have done it"; "Remember that the ancients commonly used long sentences where we use short, choppy ones"; "The great critics should be read with great care; much may be learned from them, much has been too little regarded in what they have written. The little critics are commonly repeating and often misapplying what they have learned from their masters. All is not gold that is written in German or in modern Latin"; "Don't think that, because a great many people have interpreted certain words in a certain way, such explanation is necessarily right. We are all human". "There are Greek words still not commonly understood among scholars"; and, best of all: "In order rightly to comprehend and accurately to appreciate the style of any individual writer or speaker, it is necessary to put oneself, so far as may be, *en rapport* with his intellectual life, the intangible element which determines the shape of the tangible, in other words to take his point of view". Undoubtedly one way of doing this, or of trying to do it, is to go to the author's native land and there to study the thought and habits of the people. That Earle thought so is proved by his fondness for the following couplet, also found among his papers, and once quoted in a letter which he addressed to the writer of this memoir:

'Wer den Dichter will verstehen
Muss auf des Dichters Pfade gehen'.

Bearing upon this subject, and of importance to teacher and pupil alike, are bits of advice and generalization, which appear in some of his letters addressed to his students. One would expect to find such general truths emphasized rather by an older man than Earle was in the year of 1896 when, in a letter to a young friend, he said: "Broadening is a good thing, but it means, in an easy nine cases in ten, superficiality. The thorough mastery of a few subjects does not necessarily make one narrow;" and again he said to the same student (in 1897): "Be careful to keep the balance even between desire and duty, between inclination and obligation".

No better proof of his determination to foster high ideals of scholarship, and respect for European tradition, could perhaps be found than the advice which Prof. Earle once gave to a candidate

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy who consulted him in reference to his dissertation. "I should urge you", he said, "to make your text Latin instead of English; I do not approve of English theses for higher degrees in Classics". But in connection with this evidence touching his intellectual standards, it is encouraging and helpful to mark his *moral* attitude toward those whose intellectual advancement he regarded as especially dependent on his tuition and guidance. On a previous occasion he had written to the same student the following words of encouragement: "Please remember that my work as teacher does not end there (i. e., with the seminar work in Greek authors), and that I shall be constantly at your service for any advice or help in your studies that I can give you".

Earle's love for textual criticism and emendation, and his reverence for such critics as Thomas Johnson, Benjamin Heath, and Samuel Musgrave, of the eighteenth century, are indicated in his letters to the late Mr. Louis Dyer of Oxford, a charming American scholar, the earlier part of whose life was spent at Harvard University where he once held the post of Assistant Professor of Greek. One of his letters to Dyer, written in 1892, reads in part as follows: "Your hearty letter was very encouraging. Textual criticism is a thing toward which I find myself inclining more and more; so you can well imagine my pleasure at finding what I had attempted in the *Iphigenia* among the Taurians had made me a *laudatus a laudato viro*. In regard to the *Phoenissae*, I shall be very glad to have you make me the target for as many letters as you choose to fire. I have attempted much less in the text of that play than in the *Bacchae* and *Alcestitis*; however, whatever I may fancy I have guessed out better than another I shall take pleasure in placing at your disposal."

In a letter to Mr. Dyer, dated June 1, 1899, Earle speaks of having secured a copy of the Johnson *Sophocles* of 1745, containing a considerable body of very neat manuscript notes and emendations. "They (the notes) are couched", he says, "in a tidy, scholarly Latin, and from many points of internal evidence I am pretty well persuaded they are from Musgrave's hand." He then requests Dr. Dyer to help him to a bit of fac-simile of Musgrave's hand, in order that he may clinch or disprove his conjecture about the authorship of the notes in question. This fac-simile was subsequently secured by Professor

Herbert Weir Smyth, when the latter was in London, with the help of Professor Alfred Gudeman, and through the courtesy of the director of the British Museum. A photograph was made of one of Musgrave's autograph letters in the British Museum, which proved that the Johnson Sophocles referred to had been Musgrave's hand-copy, and was all that Professor Earle had claimed for it.

Setting aside Prof. Earle's abilities in authorship, in philological and archaeological investigation, and in teaching, we shall do well to take into account his personality and general character, as these appeared to his friends during the period of his maturity and manhood. Something has already been said on this subject, so that we are again confronted with the danger of repetition. It is indeed hard, if not impossible, to separate a man's personality from his professional and active life, and the reader of this sketch may well say that he knows already the chief points in question. But, lest we should omit anything worthy of mention, let us take note of a few facts which throw light upon his nature, and may be considered separately and quite apart from his professional career.

In his personal appearance he was tall, slender and well-proportioned. His hair was dark, his eyes gray-blue, his moustache auburn, his profile clear-cut and handsome, and his fine transparent skin was mingled with a healthy color. He looked unusually youthful for his years—a fact that greatly enhanced his other attractions. His individuality was strong and suggestive of leadership. In short he had personal magnetism. It was not his way to follow blindly in another's footsteps. His independence of mind carried him seldom into mistaken paths, more often into those which lead to valuable discoveries. He was wont to speak his mind fearlessly and frankly—a habit at times deprecated by those who realized how far a man may thus stand in the way of his own promotion and worldly advantage. But this was one of the faults of his qualities—if indeed that can be called a fault which, though disadvantageous to his own prospects, was nevertheless the source of real helpfulness to his pupils and friends. His contempt, indeed, which was seldom concealed for all that was unworthy and meretricious, came occasionally into direct conflict with the plans and policies of the powers that be—sometimes even to the ultimate discomfiture of the latter and to the betterment of pedagogical rulings and principles. His

sense of honour was keen, his loyalty to duty most exacting, while a certain spirit of "noblesse oblige" compelled him often to sacrifice personal interests to the good of the cause which he represented. He had a way of looking to find in others the same high ideals which he cherished himself, and his disappointment knew no bounds when he found, as was not seldom the case, that his confidence had been mistaken or misplaced.

Jealousy was wholly foreign to his nature, which seemed to crave that the right should prevail in all things, without regard to those by whom it might be maintained. He was a philosopher in the best sense of the term, and was well aware that perfection in all things is far to seek. There were in him certain warring elements which manifested themselves according to the occasion. His respect for true religion was indubitable, and he had in him something of the mystic, yet his independence of all authority in religious matters was suggestive also of the agnostic. His sense of what he deemed to be his own unworthiness was coupled with an honest desire for recognition, and when the latter was withheld he would abandon himself to temporary discouragement—a trait in his character that belonged more particularly to his earlier career, when his powers and acquirements were not yet fully known. Looking, as he did, upon the Classics in American education, not as the means merely by which a teacher may gain a livelihood, but as a potent instrument for promoting the well-being of the nation, and the progress of art and literature, he became at times despondent over the future of his favorite subjects. Yet he believed thoroughly in his calling, and worked with untiring zeal to advance its interests, so that no amount of discouragement ever caused him to let go that desire for perfection which served as a spur to all endeavours.

In fact, this very desire produced in him a sort of fastidiousness which showed itself even in little matters. It appeared in his speech, his manners and his dress. He admired what he called "good form" and could not easily overlook vulgarity or disregard for social conventions. Yet he was no fop. Affectation of any sort was abhorrent to him. His spirit was truly democratic. He loved to associate with the genuine peasant, and the country folk of his own and other lands. He was attached especially to the peasant folk of Greece, and learned from them all he could of their customs and

language. He treated them not only kindly but as equals, and accepted their crude and humble hospitality. Not infrequently, when he was living in New York, Greeks would come to him, as to a friend, to ask for advice and guidance in the new country in which they had just landed and where they found themselves without friends or the means of subsistence. In general, he cherished a romantic attachment for Greece and her people, such as might be likened to that of Lord Byron, and he gained rich profit and keen pleasure from his summer visits to the Isles of Hellas and the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean.

The fastidiousness of which we have spoken extended also to the use of his native tongue. He possessed that "*curiosa felicitas*" in the use of English, which is conspicuous by its absence in so many of our American born youth, even in those who, because of their traditions and environment, ought to be distinctly proficient in this respect. By many of us he would have been dubbed "a purist" (were not that word suggestive of a sneer), so few indeed are they who attach high value to nicety in linguistic expression. But Prof. Earle contended to the last for that purity of diction which is ever the aim of the true linguist and student. He believed in Lowell's dictum, which he often quoted: "Elegance is also force", and he did what he could to imprint this well attested doctrine on the minds of his pupils. Even his handwriting illustrated the importance which he attached to the question of form, for it was always clear and regular, while his Greek hand, in the words of an admiring contemporary scholar, was "more beautiful than Porson's".

Some things that have been said about him by his relatives throw further light on his disposition and mental habits. According to a sister of his mother, Earle exhibited an affection for his mother that was "beautiful in every respect"; the two were "inseparable companions, and as her health failed he watched over her constantly in loving devotion". Her death, while he was still in college, filled him with a poignant and lasting grief.

A cousin, Doctor Frank Hunter Zabriskie, who saw Earle frequently in the summers of 1884 and 1885, was impressed with the latter's fondness for Latin and Greek. "His only ambition", says Dr. Zabriskie, "was to know these two languages exactly, and he already was well along to the goal". "I remember well", adds

the Doctor, "seeing him, day after day, lying on his belly, with his feet up in the air, reading Spinoza's 'Ethics' at sight, scarcely ever referring to glossary or dictionary; Macaulay's phrase of 'feet on the fender' had its parallel in Mortimer's case, and after a walk on the hills or a tramp over to the Connecticut river, he would set down the fact in Latin verse. His interest in philology began about this time, when he read carefully and with great enjoyment Professor Whitney's 'Life and Growth of Language', with whose conclusions he thoroughly agreed".

The same cousin avers that, at this time, there were two authors for whom Earle entertained a positive dislike. One of them was Carlyle, whom he believed to have done "a lasting injury to the English language". The other was Emerson, whom he accused of "lacking system", and of being an inexact scholar. Such prejudices may provoke a smile in those of riper years; but it should be recalled to mind at this time Earle was still an undergraduate and therefore a mere boy. Nor were his judgments without discrimination, but rather do they give proof of a power of discernment and of a literary sense by no means common in one of his years and inexperience. Of like character with such criticisms was his disapproval of a well-known clergyman, whom, according to the same authority, young Earle thoroughly detested "not only because of that eccentric preacher's peculiar style of composition, but because of his habit of sacrificing reverence to effect."

"Mortimer's interests were wide," adds Dr. Zabriskie in closing; "he loved to read a medical treatise and was always pleased at an apt analogy or a good bit of writing in such a work". Other interesting reminiscences of Earle's earlier life and mental drift are related both by Dr. Zabriskie and by other relations and family friends, but cannot be quoted here.

Perhaps enough has been said, however, to give the reader a fairly adequate impression of Prof. Earle's character and achievements, and yet the writer of this biography finds it no easy matter to decide just when he should stop; for to have possessed the friendship of Mortimer Lamson Earle renders the recounting of his achievements a source of real pleasure and satisfaction. These remarks are not of the sort that belong to panegyric; they emanate from an earnest desire to do justice to a man and a scholar, whose rare genius for friendship was one of his most prominent traits; and whose love

for everything good in life and literature, coupled with a fine sense of humor and keen appreciation of the dramatic and picturesque, made him a charming companion. These gifts brought him into honourable as well as pleasant relations with many who were unable to follow him closely in the narrow paths of his intellectual life.

His own personal range of athletic activity was confined almost entirely to one sphere. He was an experienced swimmer. A really good swimmer was a man of prowess in the "old days" of Greece and Rome, and Earle had the best Greek legend and story at his back whenever he found opportunity to practise his favourite exercise.

In general, Professor Earle was in the highest sense a man. "Take him for all in all, I shall not look upon his like again." Let him therefore live in our memories, for his life, as we know it, is something not to be forgotten, and his every act is worthy of the imitation of the greatest as well as the lowliest of us all. To the writer he was both a friend and an inspiration. "I have felt his touch and shall feel it always." Thus his work lives after him in many ways. "Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque (amicos tuos) ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est."

In memory of Mortimer Lamson Earle, Columbia University has established a prize of \$50.00 called the "Earle Prize in Classics" which is open for annual competition to all undergraduates in Columbia and Barnard Colleges. His private library of classical authors, comprising three thousand volumes, which he had collected at home and abroad during a period of twenty years, has been purchased from his widow by his pupils, classmates, colleagues and other friends, and presented to Columbia University as a permanent memorial. Each volume is marked by a book-plate which contains certain words chosen from the "Ion" of Euripides, as reflecting Prof. Earle's high ideals:

Κλεινὸς δ' ὁ πόνος μοι
θεοῖσιν δούλαν χέρ' ἔχειν.

*Union College,
Schenectady, N. Y.*

SIDNEY G. ASHMORE.

GREEK AUTHORS

SOPHOCLES.

I.—*Studies in Sophocles's Trachinians.*¹

1. *The Trachinians and the Alcestis.*

IN studying the resemblances between Greek plays we have to observe, besides the more general and comprehensive resemblances of plots, as in the *Choëphoroe* and the *Electras*, certain other kinds of similarity of less extent and compass. These may be grouped under three heads: (1) resemblances of motives, (2) resemblances of scenic situations, (3) verbal parallels. Of these it appears that the first and third have received more attention from students of the Greek drama than has the second, though it is impossible to deal adequately with resemblances of motives without taking account incidentally of resemblances of scenic situations. In his excellent *Schlafscenen auf der attischen Bühne* (*Rhein. Mus.* 46 [1891], pp. 25-46) Dr Dieterich has dealt with both the latter and the former and has considered verbal parallels as well. As a further example of the way in which the several sorts of resemblances are bound up together, and also of the way in which they may be complicated besides by derivation from several sources in the same passage, I may cite here the opening of the *Philoctetes*.² The first two lines are reminiscent of the opening of the *Prometheus*, a play the influence of which on subsequent Greek drama has never, I think, been adequately estimated. We have here not merely a verbal parallel, but also a resemblance of motive. In the *Prometheus* the hero of the play is brought to a desolate place to suffer alone; in the *Philoctetes* the speaker of the prologue tells, on coming to the place where the

¹ From *Transactions of the American Philological Association*; Vol. xxxiii (1902), pp. 5-29.

² [*Philoctetes* 2 βροτοῖς δστειπτος οὐδ' ολκουμένη: adapted from Aesch. *Prometheus* 2, and combining the two readings ἄβροτον and ἄβατον. Thus βροτοῖς δστειπτος (or δστιπτος) is a combination of these two readings and οὐδ' ολκουμένη is equivalent to καὶ ἐρήμῃ derived from ἐρημῶν. May not then the variant reading in *Prom.* 2 be as old as Sophocles's time? Cf. also *Antigone* 770. (Ms. note; cp. also PAPA. (1901) 32, p. xxviii.)]

hero of the play was left to suffer alone, of the circumstances of that abandonment, of which he had been, like the speaker of the prologue of the *Prometheus*, the chief agent. But the resemblance of scenic situation in this passage is not primarily between the *Prometheus* and the *Philoctetes*, but between the *Ajax* and the *Philoctetes*. In both the *Ajax* and the *Philoctetes* Odysseus is discovered at the doorway of an enemy—in both cases a man that he has wronged—and desirous of learning whether that enemy is within, but fearing to enter and, in the sequel, getting his information at second hand from a companion. Furthermore, the prologue of the *Philoctetes* is reminiscent of the *Trachinians*, to which play it is a sort of sequel and in the lost close of which Philoctetes may well have figured, at least in an ἀγγελικῇ ῥῆσις. Thus ποτὸν κρηναῖον (21) seems to be an echo of κρηναῖον ποτοῦ in the prologue of the *Trachinians* (14), and βοῶν ἰύζων (11), as we should doubtless read with Γ instead of βοῶν στενάζων, is repeated from *Trach.* 787, where the words are used of the suffering hero of that play.¹ But we are not at present to discuss in detail the likenesses of the *Philoctetes* and the *Trachinians*, but of the *Alcestis* and the *Trachinians*; and I now proceed to the examination of a remarkable composite parallel between those two plays that had not, to the best of my knowledge, been noted by any one.

In *Trach.* 322-328, after Deianira's question to Iole, instead of the latter answering, Lichas says:

Οὐ τᾶρα (ἰ. ε. ἐὰν εἴπῃ) τῷ γε πρόσθεν οὐδὲν ἐξ ἴσου
 χρόνῳ διοίσει γλώσσαν, ἥτις οὐδαμὰ
 προῦφηνεν οὔτε μείζον' οὔτ' ἐλάσσονα,
 ἀλλ' αἰὲν ὠδίνονσα συμφορᾶς βάρος
 δακρυροεῖ — δύστηνος — ἐξ ὅτου πάτραν
 διήνεμον λέλοιπεν· ἡ δέ τοι τύχη
 κακὴ μὲν αὐτῇ γ' ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχει.

In reading these verses with a class, I was suddenly struck by their verbal likenesses to a familiar passage in the *Alcestis*, vv. 136-140, where at the close of the parodus the coryphaeus says:

¹ [For another verbal parallel between two plays of Sophocles compare *Antigone* 420, 421 ἐν δ' ἐμεστώθῃ μέγας | αἰθήρ with *Electra* 713-715 ἐν δὲ πᾶς ἐμεστώθῃ δρόμος | κτύπου κροτητῶν ἀρμάτων· κόνης δ' ἄνω | φορεῖθ'· where the connecting idea is the dust. (Ms. note.)]

'Αλλ' ἦδ' ὀπαδῶν ἐκ δόμων τις ἔρχεται
 δακρυρροοῦσα· τίνα τύχην ἀκούσομαι;
 Πενθεῖν μὲν, εἴ τι δεσπόταισι τυγχάνει,
 συγγνωστόν· εἰ δ' ἔτ' ἔστιν Ἀδμήτου¹ γυνή
 εἴτ' οὖν ὄλωλεν εἰδέναι βουλοίμεθ' ἄν.

Here we have three rather noticeable words in the former passage matched by three words in the latter that are the same in the first two instances and cognate in the third, and those words within the same compass and in the same order. That this verbal parallel is not accidental can be proved by an examination of the situation in the two passages. In both places a woman slave from whom some one is anxious to learn something weeps in silence. In the *Trachinians* that woman slave is a captive of Heracles, and her silence is due scenically to the lack of a fourth actor. At the close of the *Alcestis* (1131-1146) one that is nominally a woman slave obtained by Heracles as a prize of victory is silent when questioned, for the scenic reason that there is no third actor. The scene was a striking one on the stage, and we should not forget—a point to which I shall revert—that Sophocles had witnessed the first performance of the *Alcestis* and beaten Euripides in the competition at that time. Is it not now patent that in writing the passage in the *Trachinians* that we are considering Sophocles, in a curious fashion but one that is quite intelligible psychologically,² fused two passages of the *Alcestis* that were scenically striking to the eye and that had elements in common? That Sophocles would have written this conflate reminiscence of the *Alcestis* had he not seen that play acted and appreciated the power of its scenic situations may well be doubted; but it will also, I think, appear probable in what follows that preparatory to writing the *Trachinians* he had deliberately refreshed his memory by a reading of the *Alcestis*. But of this more later.³

With the passage in the *Trachinians* that has just been discussed may be associated another in which again, unless I am mistaken,

¹ ἔστιν Ἀδμήτου Lenting: ἔστιν ἑμφυχος codd.

² For the psychology of such "associated reminiscences" see Mr A. B. Cook's interesting and suggestive article *Class. Rev.* XV (1901), 338-345. I gladly acknowledge the impetus which Mr Cook's paper has given to my studies.

³ It may be added here that the parallel in the *Trachinians* is a proof of the unsoundness of M. Henri Weil's ἐγγνωστον in *Alc.* 139 (on which see also Hayley's note).

the *Alcestis* is imitated. In v. 1181 Heracles asks Hyllus to give him his right hand in confirmation of a pledge (**Εμβαλλε χεῖρα δεξιὰν πρώτιστά μοι*) Hyllus is reluctant, but upon Heracles fiercely urging him he stretches out his hand with the words: **Ἰδοὺ προτείνω* κούδεν ἀντειρήσεται (v. 1184). At *Alc.* 1118, after Heracles, on the ground that he trusts Admetus's right hand alone (v. 1115), has urged the latter to give his hand to the veiled woman (v. 1117), Admetus does stretch out his hand with the words: *Καὶ δὴ προτείνω*. The fact that this half verse occurs in a scene that we have found Sophocles imitating elsewhere, added to the fact that the scenic situation is a very striking one, makes it pretty certain that *Trach.* 1184 is a reminiscence of *Alc.* 1118. It is to be noted that Sophocles substituted for Euripides's *καὶ δὴ* the synonymous *ἰδοὺ*. It is possible that another Euripidean situation in which the scenic business must have been decidedly good—*viz.* the scene where Medea makes Aegeus take oath—may have been likewise before Sophocles's mind in writing *Trach.* 1181 sqq. But it is not certain.

Before taking up the reminiscences of the *Alcestis* that are to be found pretty plentifully in *Trach.* 896-946 I may note that there is perhaps more in the resemblance of *Trach.* 869 to *Alc.* 777 than has hitherto been observed. In the passage in the *Alcestis* Heracles describes a servant receiving him *στυγνῷ προσώπῳ καὶ συνωφρυνωμένος* (as we should surely read, with Nauck, for *συνωφρυνωμένῳ*). In the passage in the *Trachinians* the coryphaeus describes a servant coming out of the house to make an announcement *ἀήθης* (according to the Mss.) *καὶ συνωφρυνωμένη*. Now this is the announcement of the entrance of the old woman servant that is to deliver a speech (vv. 899-946) reminiscent of the speech delivered by the woman servant in *Alc.* 153-198; we might, therefore, justly expect to find here a reminiscence of *Alc.* 136 sq.:

**Ἄλλ' ἢδ' ὀπαδῶν ἐκ δόμων τις ἔρχεται*

δακρυρροῦσα· τίνα τύχην ἀκούσομαι;

That there is any link between the two passages does not, at first sight, appear; but Mr Blaydes has suggested that the certainly corrupt *ἀήθης* in *Trach.* 869, which has been changed by several scholars into *ἀηδής*, was originally *κατηφής*, and we find at *Med.* 1012 *Τὶ δὴ κατηφές* (Cobet: *κατηφείς* codd.) *ὄμμα καὶ δακρυρροεῖς*. May not,

then, *Trach.* 868-870 contain a conflation of *Alc.* 777 and *Med.* 1012 referred to a scenic situation similar to that of *Alc.* 136 sq. by reason of the occurrence of the verb *δακρυροεῖν* in both *Alc.* 137 and *Med.* 1012, and should we not accept *κατηφής* in *Trach.* 869?¹

That Sophocles had *Alc.* 77-136 in his mind at this place in the *Trachinians* is pretty certain, not merely from the reminiscences of *Alc.* 153-198 in *Trach.* 899-946, but also from the use of hemichoria in vv. 863-867 to perform in a much shorter compass the function of the hemichoria in *Alc.* 77-136. It is also to be observed that *Trach.* 871-898 take the place of vv. 141-151 in the *Alcestis* and that *Trach.* 896 sq.

μᾶλλον δ', εἰ παρούσα πλησία
 ἔλευσσεσσι οἷ' ἔδρασε κάρτ' ἂν ἔκτισας.

are reminiscent of *Alc.* 157

ἂ δ' ἐν δόμοις ἔδρασε θαυμάσῃ κλύων.

The words in the *Alcestis* are part of the prooemium of the servant's ῥῆσις itself; those in the *Trachinians* part of the external introduction to the servant's ῥῆσις.²

We come now to the most obvious likenesses between the *Trachinians* and the *Alcestis*. They are as follows (in addition to that just cited):

Trach. 900 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθε (Schaefer: παρήλθε codd.) δωμάτων ἔσω
 μόνῃ

Alc. 158 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦσθεθ' κτέ.

¹ A very pretty example of a conflate reference to Homer by Sophocles may be cited here as illustrating the tendency of his mind. In *Trach.* 144-6 Τὸ γὰρ νεῖξον ἐν τοιοῦσδε βόσκειται | χώροις ἔν' (αὐτοῦ καὶ νιν) οὐ θάλλπος θεοῦ | οὐδ' ὄμβρος οὐδὲ πνευμάτων οὐδὲν κλονεῖ, it was seen and noted by Schneidewin that there is a reference to Hom. ε 478 sqq., where it is said of the two θάμνοι: τοὺς μὲν ἄρ' οἷτ' ἀνέμων διὰ μένος ὕγρον ἀέντων, | οἷτε ποτ' ἥλιος φαέθων ἀκτῖσιν ἔβαλλεν, | οὔτ' ὄμβρος περάσκει διαμπερές, but it has not been noted that πνευμάτων οὐδὲν κλονεῖ is not to be explained from the passage just cited but from another, a little farther on in the Phaeacian Episode, which was naturally, owing to both its proximity and its similarity to the former, running in Sophocles's mind at the same time. This is the famous description of Olympus (§ 43-5), θηί φασὶ θεῶν ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ | ἔμμεναι ' οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται, οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρω | δεύεται, οὔτε χλὼν ἐπιπλυννύται, κτέ.

² Zielinski's notion (*Philologus* 55 [1896], 593¹⁸) that the κομμός originally began immediately after *Trach.* 870 is refuted by *Alc.* 141-151, as shewn above. Zielinski's *Excursus zu den Trachinierinnen*, *Philol.* 55, 491-540, 577-633, contains some valuable matter. For the most part, the writer's perversity is only equalled by his prolixity.

Trach. 904 βωμοῖσι προσπίτνουσ'

Alc. 170 sq.

πάντας δὲ βώμους . . .

προσηλθε

Trach. 908 sq.

εἴ του φίλον (Naber: φίλων codd.) βλέπειν οἶκετ' ὦν δέμας,

ἔκλαιεν

Alc. 192 πάντες δ' ἔκλαιον οἰκείται¹

Trach. 913 τὸν Ἡράκλειον θάλαμον εἰσορμωμένην

Alc. 175 θάλαμον ἐσπεσοῦσα καὶ λέχος²

Trach. 915-922

ὄρῳ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα δαμνίοις
τοῖς Ἡρακλείοις στρωτὰ βάλλονσαν φάρη.
Ὅπως δ' ἐτέλεσε τοῦτ', ἐπενθοροῦσ' ἄνω
καθέζετ' ἐν μέσοισιν εὐνατηρίοις
καὶ δακρύων ῥήξασα θερμὰ νάματα
ἔλεξεν· ὦ λέχη τε καὶ νυμφεῖ' ἐμά,
τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη χαίρεθ', ὥς ἔμ' οὐ ποτε
δέξεσθ' ἔτ' ἐν κοίταισι ταῖσδ' εὐνάτριν.

Alc. 175-184 (omisso tamquam spurio vsu. 178)

κάπειτα θάλαμον ἐσπεσοῦσα καὶ λέχος,
ἐνταῦθα δὴ δάκρυσε καὶ λέγει τάδε·
ὦ λέκτρον ἔνθα παρθένοι' ἔλυσ' ἐγώ,
χαῖρ'· οὐ γὰρ ἐχθαίρω σ'· ἀπώλεσας δέ με
μόνον·³ προδοῦναι γὰρ σ' ὀκνοῦσα καὶ πόσιν
θνήσκω· σὲ δ' ἄλλη τις γυνὴ κεκτήσεται
σώφρων μὲν οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον, εὐτυχὴς δ' ἴσως.
Κυνεῖ δὲ προσπίτνουσα, πᾶν δὲ δέμνιον
ὀφθαλμοτέγκτω δεύεται πλημμυρίδι.

Trach. 938 ἀμφιπίτνων (Wecklein: ἀμφιπίπτων codd.) στομάσιν

Alc. 403 ποτὶ σοῖσι πίτνων στομάσιν

(This and the two following are noticeable as being derived from two other places in the *Alcestis*. The reason in the case of the first and third of these passages is obvious: the description of the son of Deianira mourning over his dead mother is naturally assimilated

¹ Noted also by Zielinski p. 593¹⁷.

² Noted also by Zielinski p. 593¹⁷.

³ Blomfield for μόνη (see Hayley ad loc.).

to the mourning of Alcestis's son over his dead mother. The scenic situation was a striking and highly emotional one in the case of the *Alcestis*.¹ The association of ideas that led to the dovetailing in of a suggestion of Admetus's speech is the easier to understand if we remember that Admetus's words are part of a command that he says he will give to the children.)

Trach. 938 sq.

πλευρόθεν

πλευρὰν παρὲς ἔκειτο

Alc. 466 sq.

πλευρά τ' ἐκτεῖναι πέλας

πλευροῖσι τοῖς σοῖς

Trach. 942 ὠρφανισμένος βίον (Wakefield: βίου codd.)

Alc. 396 sq.

προλιπούσα δ' ἄμὼν βίον

ὠρφάνισεν (Sophocles construed ἄμὼν βίον with ὠρφάνισεν)

Trach. 943 Τοιαῦτα τᾶνδον ἐστίν

Alc. 196 Τοιαῦτ' ἐν οἴκοις ἐστὶν Ἀδμήτου κακά²

Before seeking to draw certain conclusions from the resemblance of the *Trachinians* to the *Alcestis* it may not be out of place to remark on an odd turn of phrase in the *Trachinians* which has not been well understood and seems to have been derived from a particular passage in Euripides. In *Trach.* 914 sq. the old woman servant is made to say:

κἀγὼ λαθραῖον ὄμμ' ἐπεσκιασμένη

φρούρου, ὅρῳ δὲ κτέ.

If we will compare *Alc.* 34 sq. (a rather striking passage)

νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τῇδ' αὖ

χέρα τοξήρη φρουρεῖς ὀπλίσας.

where we should construe χέρα φρουρεῖς ('keepest thy hand on guard') τοξήρη ὀπλίσας (= τόξῳ ὀπλίσας), we shall see that we are to connect ὄμμ' directly with φρούρου ('was keeping my eye on guard': cf. ὄμματος | φρουρὰν<ν> 224 sq.). Following out the

¹ The application of *Alc.* 396 sq. and 403 to Hyllus seems to make it certain that *Alc.* 393-403 and 407-415 are to be assigned to the boy (Eumelus), not divided between the girl (393-403) and the boy (407-415) as Lenting thought (*Epistola Critica in Eur. Alc.* p. 65 sq.)

² Noted also by Zielinski p. 594¹⁷.

interlocked order, we shall further connect λαθραῖος (λαθραῖον an easy scribe's slip before ὅμμ') ἐπεσκιασμένη. Not merely the striking use of φρουρεῖν but the interlocked order of words is common to the place in the *Trachinians* with that in the *Alcestis*. That the former is derived from the latter seems reasonably probable when we compare *Phil.* 151 φρουρεῖν ὅμμ' ἐπὶ σῶ μάλιστα καιρῷ, where φρουρεῖν ὅμμ' suggests the *Trachinians*, the construction of ἐπὶ c. dat. with the phrase suggests the *Alcestis*.

Whether the view just explained of the origin of the idiom in *Trach.* 914 sq. be right or not, we may, I think, draw this conclusion incidentally from our examination of the idiom, that *Trach.* 914 and 915 are not to be separated by the insertion of v. 903 (with ἐμαυτήν for ἐαυτήν). Mollweide (as quoted by Nauck) is more likely right in treating v. 903, which cannot stand where it does, as due to a scholion on λαθραῖον ὅμμ' ἐπεσκιασμένη. Its case would thus be somewhat like that of the notorious *Ant.* 24.¹

The thesis, which with others quite as perverse Dr Zielinski defends in the writing that has been cited already, that the *Trachinians* is earlier than the *Alcestis* and that Euripides in his play borrowed (and not very cleverly) from Sophocles, is completely refuted by the first of the parallels that I have cited between the two plays. Another thesis, proposed by the now distinguished Leyden Hellenist Professor J. van Leeuwen in his *Commentatio de Ajacis Sophoclei authenticia et integritate* (Utrecht, 1881), that the first part of the *Trachinians* (1-875) was written about 430 B.C. under the influence of the *Alcestis* and the *Medea*, the rest, which is less strict in metrical form, at a much later period, seems to be quite as convincingly refuted by the fact that the reminiscences of the *Alcestis* are carried pretty well through the *Trachinians*, as was shown above. The view taken by Dr van Leeuwen and discussed by him at considerable length in the book just cited, that Sophocles was constantly touching up his plays, as modern poets change the text of successive editions of their works, can hardly be true, it should seem, to any great extent. Were it so, it would make the dating of many Greek plays

¹ I add here what seems like an isolated reminiscence of the *Alcestis* in the *Trachinians*. *Trach.* 1044 sq. (Coryphaeus) Κλύουσ' ἔφριξα τάσδε συμφοράς, φίλαι, | ἄνακτος, οὔ τις οἶος ὦν ἐλαύνεται. *Alc.* 144 (Coryphaeus apostrophizing suffering ἄναξ) ὦ τλήμων, οὔ τις οἶος ὦν ἀμαρτάνεις.

a far worse puzzle than it is. This is not the place to discuss the metrical questions involved in the thesis further than to say that Dr van Leeuwen in his *Commentatio* disregarded, as have most, the influence of emotional exaltation on the part of the fictitious speaker on the form of the Greek tragic trimeter. I have touched upon the matter in the metrical appendix to my edition of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

It has been shown that Sophocles borrowed freely from Euripides's *Alcestis* in the *Trachinians*, and it is *a priori* reasonable to infer that other marked likenesses between the *Trachinians* and other plays of Euripides are due to borrowing by the "Attic Bee." Especially is this likely to be the case in a play the Euripidean character of which is so noticeable, as has often been remarked by scholars. We need not then wait until we have discussed the likenesses between the *Medea* and the *Trachinians* before we take the next step toward the approximate dating of our play, but may with reasonable confidence regard *Trach.* 416 $\Lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma'$, $\epsilon \tilde{\iota} \tau \iota \chi \rho \eta \acute{\zeta} \epsilon \iota \varsigma \cdot$ $\kappa \alpha \iota \gamma \grave{\alpha} \rho \omicron \tilde{\upsilon} \sigma \iota \gamma \eta \lambda \delta \varsigma \epsilon \tilde{\iota}$. as a reminiscence of Eur. *Suppl.* 567 $\Lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma'$, $\epsilon \tilde{\iota} \tau \iota \beta \omicron \upsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \cdot$ $\kappa \alpha \iota \gamma \grave{\alpha} \rho \omicron \tilde{\upsilon} \sigma \iota \gamma \eta \lambda \delta \varsigma \epsilon \tilde{\iota}$. with an improvement in one word.¹ We shall go further, also, and follow Dr Dieterich's excellent confirmation of Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's view of the relations of the *Hercules Furens* and the *Trachinians*. Dr Dieterich's discussion in his *Schlafscenen auf der attischen Bühne* I have already referred to, and it is unnecessary to do more here than refer to his tentative dating of the *Trachinians* 419 B.C. (*op. cit.* p. 43). Surely it would seem that 419-410 B.C. is as large a latitude as we can allow in dating the *Trachinians*. But we must return now to the relations of the *Trachinians* and the *Alcestis*.

To say, as Professor Jebb does in his introduction to the *Trachinians* (p. xxii), that the *Hercules Furens* and the *Trachinians* are the only two "experiments" in Greek literature of taking "the legend of Heracles as the basis of a tragedy" "of which we have any clear or definite knowledge" is true only in the narrowest sense of the words. It should be added that, if the legend of Heracles is not the basis of the *Alcestis*, yet that play is perhaps, as I have ventured to suggest in my introduction to it, the first attempt to bring Heracles as a tragic character—or, at least, a semi-tragic character—before a

¹ Cf. *Trach.* 1184 and *Alc.* 1118.

Greek audience. If we assume that the *Alcestis* was indeed a sort of dramatic exaltation of Heracles, we shall find that this tallies perfectly with a view of the relations of the *Trachinians* on the one hand and the *Alcestis* and the *Hercules Furens* on the other to which our discussion has been gradually leading us. Let us see what this view is. It may be put in a definite form somewhat as follows:

Sophocles, much impressed by Euripides's *Hercules Furens*, determines to write a tragedy on a portion of the legend of Heracles. To this end he not only studies the *Hercules Furens* and adopts from it what serves his purpose, but also reads carefully what is probably the other Attic tragedy, or quasi-tragedy, that deals with Heracles, a play strong in emotion and scenically striking, which he has witnessed—and defeated—some twenty or more years earlier, the *Alcestis*. He writes thus under the spell of Euripides and pays his rival the sincerest compliment, that of imitation.

It would have been well for the worshippers of Sophocles and, at the same time, detractors of Euripides had they better understood their idol's state of mind towards some of Euripides's work. But to return to our subject. We shall not be surprised, when we have learned to see why and how Sophocles came thus to imitate two of Euripides's plays, if he furthermore drew for more than individual lines and brief suggestions upon another strong play of Euripides, a play that had the first place among Euripides's four in the tragic contest of 431 B.C., when Sophocles was second and Euripides third, the *Medea*. But this is to encroach upon the next chapter.

II.

The Trachinians and the Medea.

The Euripidean character of the prologue of the *Trachinians* has been more than once commented upon. Hermann Schütz in his *Sophokleische Studien* (Potsdam, 1890) puts the matter briefly and well when he writes (p. 390): "Der Prolog des Dramas erinnert an die Euripideische Manier, durch einen längeren Monolog den Zuschauer in die Verhältnisse einzuführen; denn auf ihn, nicht auf die alte, mit allem genau bekannte Dienerin ist die ganze Rede der Deianira berechnet." But the prologue of the *Trachinians* does not

resemble that of the *Alcestis*; such reminiscence of that passage as is to be found, if at all, in the *Trachinians* is rather to be traced in vv. 248 sqq., where Heracles's year-long servitude and its cause are narrated.¹ On the other hand, the prologue of the *Trachinians* is more nearly than has been observed hitherto like that prologue among those of Euripides that are extant which is generally thought the best dramatically—the prologue of the *Medea*. About this the (somewhat Wilamowitzian) remarks of Dr Zielinski (*Philol.* 55, p. 522⁶) are so apt as to deserve quotation here. They are as follows: "Interessant ist, dass auch Euripides einmal den Versuch gemacht hat, den Prolog psychologisch zu motivieren—das ist der Prolog der Amme in der 'Medea'; damit man es ihm glaube, hat er der Amme die Motivierung ausdrücklich in den Mund gelegt 56 ff. ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτ' ἐκβέβηκ' ἀλγηδόνας, ὥσθ' ἱμερός μ' ὑπῆλθε γῆ τε κοῦραν ψέξαι μολούσῃ δέυρο δεσποίνης τύχας. Geglaubt hat es ihm aber doch niemand; wenigstens hat er den Versuch nicht wiederholt." Is it going too far to conjecture that even if we had the complete works of Euripides we should find this prologue nearly, if not quite, unique, and that Sophocles exercised very deliberate choice in selecting it for imitation? But let us look further into the relation of the two prologues.

In studying carefully the prologue of the *Medea* before I had begun the examination of the *Trachinians* the results of which I am now presenting I found myself brought to the conclusion that not only had the excisions proposed or put in practice by various scholars been erroneously suggested and made, but that there are no spurious verses in the prologue of the *Medea* as handed down to us. The details of the prologue of the *Medea* I shall discuss elsewhere; suffice it here to point out in passing that, if vv. 40-43 be condemned, vv. 38 and 39 and vv. 44 and 45 must keep them company. This clean sweep of eight verses where there is no apparent reason for their insertion may well stagger the boldest hewer of texts and drawer of squared hooks. As for the prologue of the *Trachinians*, repeated study of it has convinced me that it too contains no spurious verses. To me, as to Professor Campbell, vs. 465

¹ Cf. especially τῷ λόγῳ (as it seems that we should read for τοῦ λόγου) δ' οὐ χρεὴ φθόνον, | γύναι, προσεῖναι Ζεὺς ὅτου πράκτωρ φανῇ (*Trach.* 250 sq.) with the less formal apology Ζεὺς γὰρ κατακτὰς παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν αἴτιος (*Alc.* 3).

is a sufficient defence of vs. 25.¹ Now this prologue of the *Trachinians* has likewise forty-eight verses. But is this equality in length of the two prologues anything more than a coincidence? Is there any likeness in the situations and the persons at the openings of the two plays?

It has been noted by Dr Dieterich (*op. cit.* p. 43) as part of the general Euripidean character of the *Trachinians* that a *τροφός* is introduced. It may be said in passing that the term *τροφός* or 'nurse' is a convenient designation for such personages as the old woman-servant (the *παλαιὸν οἴκων κτῆμα* of the *Medea* and the *γραῖα* of the *Trachinians*), but that the designation *τροφός* is demonstrably correct only for the *Hippolytus*. However, that is a detail; Dr Dieterich's observation is just. But we may go further. In the *Medea* it is the *τροφός* (to use the stock name) that speaks the prologue, describing the misery of the heroine as a deserted wife. In the *Trachinians* there is a decided gain from the point of view of the action of the play in making the heroine as deserted wife deliver the prologue and describe her miseries to the *τροφός*. And let it not be objected that the desertion of Deianira is different from that of Medea: Heracles has practically done what Jason had, as we find out in the sequel. The words *λέκτρων ἄλλα βασιλεια κρείσσω δόμοισιν ἐπέστα* (*Med.* 443-5) describe Deianira's state quite as well as they do Medea's.

So much for the prologues: let us examine the other parallels between the *Trachinians* and the *Medea*. In both plays the heroine makes use of a poisoned garment. In the *Medea* the injured wife uses a poisoned garment (together with a poisoned diadem) to kill her rival: in the *Trachinians* the injured wife uses a poisoned garment to recover her husband's affection. In the *Medea* the injured wife uses "evil arts" wittingly: in the *Trachinians* the injured wife seeks to avoid the use of "evil arts," but does so unwittingly, supposing that what she is employing is but a philtre. The parallels just cited involve differences and contrasts in the conduct of the two heroines. To these contrasts may be added others. Thus, in the *Medea* the injured wife is a barbarian: in the *Trachinians* she is a

¹ Schütz (*Soph. Studien*, p. 391) would keep the vs., but with some change. I would ask the candid reader whether *μή μοι τὸ μέλλον ἄλγος ἐκφύει ποτέ* is much of an improvement on Sophocles's verse.

Greek. The injured wife in the *Medea* exhibits barbarian manners: the injured wife in the *Trachinians* exhibits Greek manners. In the *Medea* the poisoned articles of dress are handled rather carelessly: in the *Trachinians* the poisoned shirt is handled with great caution. In the *Medea* the heroine is a sorceress, and the element of magic is prominent: in the *Trachinians* the heroine is not a sorceress, and the element of magic is hardly present. Some of the points that have been set forth above call for discussion.

In *Trach.* 582-6 Deianira says to the chorus, after she has described the preparation of the shirt for Heracles:

Κακὰς γε (ego: δὲ codd.) τέχνας (Blaydes: τόλμας codd.)
 μήτ' ἐπισταίμην ἐγὼ
 μήτ' ἐκμάθοιμι τὰς τε τολμώσας στυγῶ ·
 φίλτροις δ' ἐάν πως τήνδ' ὑπερβαλώμεθα,
 μεμηχάνηται τοῦργον — εἴ τι μὴ δοκῶ
 πρᾶσσειν μάταιον · εἰ δὲ μὴ, πεπαύσομαι.¹

Does not this read like a tacit criticism—or, perhaps better said, a covert criticism—of Euripides's heroine? Is not the gentle and patient Deianira meant to be a foil to Euripides's fiery-souled Colchian? Indeed, do we not read in the *Medea*, in a speech of Jason's that must represent, to a certain extent, the Greek point of view, this criticism of Medea's murder of her children: Οὐκ ἔστιν ἥτις τοῦτ' ἂν Ἑλληνὶς γυνή | ἔτλη ποθ' (*Med.* 1339 sq.)? Surely the conjecture may be hazarded that Sophocles desired to depict in his Deianira the humaner spirit of the Greek wife, as contrasted with the unrestrained passion of the barbarian. The latter character did not suit the genius of him that was ever εὐκολος.

I have noted above the careless manner in which the poisoned articles of dress appear to be handled in the *Medea*.² Their magic

¹ I have omitted v. 585 (τὴν παῖδα καὶ θέλκτροισι τοῖς ἐφ' Ἡρακλεῖ) with Wunder (followed by Nauck) as spurious. It seems to belong to a familiar type of interpolation.

² It seems reasonable to suppose that at *Med.* 956-8 the magic articles of dress are brought out openly, not in a box, and so entrusted to the children that one takes the dress, the other the diadem. The poison will work only on the bride. — It may be noted here that Seneca, or whoever wrote the *Hercules Oetaeus*, not only in other respects (see *Herc. Oet.* 500 sqq.) made a much more reasonable account of the adventure at the Evenus (Sophocles managed it pretty badly, as was anciently noted: see Schneidewin-Nauck on *Trach.* 568), but also took much better care of the poison

quality is treated as a matter of course, and but little regard seems to be had by the poet to the element of verisimilitude in the working of their poison. This carelessness must, I think, have struck other students of the *Medea*, as it had me even before I thought to compare the caution employed by Deianira in the *Trachinians*. The great pains taken by Sophocles in his play to lend a certain air of verisimilitude to the working of the poison—pains which have prompted Dr Zielinski to make of Sophocles an accomplished physician and toxicologist—these are, I venture to think, but the attempt of Sophocles to improve on his rival's treatment. Whether the poisoned garment was originally a part of the legend of Medea as employed by Euripides or was imported into it by him is a question that lies beyond the bounds of our present enquiry.

It may not be out of place here to note a certain resemblance between Euripides's *Medea* and Clytaemnestra as she is drawn by Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon*. Dr Zielinski thinks (*op. cit.* p. 516¹¹) that Euripides in his *Electra* vv. 1032 sqq. imitated *Trach.* 536 sqq.—a matter that we should like to be clearer about, inasmuch as it would aid us to a more exact dating of the *Trachinians*. The two passages are as follows:

Trach. 536 sqq.

κόρην γάρ — οἶμαι δ' οὐκέτ' ἀλλ' ἐξευγμένην —
 λωβητὸν ἐμπόλημα τῆς ἐμῆς φρενὸς
 παρεσδέδεγμαι, φόρτον ὥστε ναυτίλος ·
 καὶ νῦν δὺ' οὔσαι μίνομεν μιᾶς ὑπὸ
 χλαίνης ὑπαγκάλισμα.¹

Eur. El. 1032 sqq. (Clytaemnestra loquitur)

ἀλλ' ἦλθ' (sc. Agamemnon) ἔχων μοι μαινάδ' ἔνθεον κόρην
 λέκτροις τ' ἐπεισέφρηκε καὶ νύμφα δύο
 ἐν τοῖσιν αὐτοῖς δώμασιν κατεῖχ' ὁμοῦ.

We might draw up the following brief scheme of comparison:

1. Clytaemnestra and Cassandra (*Agamemnon* and *Eur. El.* l.c.).
2. Medea and Glauce.

there than Sophocles had done; for he makes Nessus give it to Deianira enclosed in one of his hooves, which he had happened to wrench off with his hand and split (v. 522, *quam forte saeva sciderat avolsam manu*)!

¹ The transposition of vv. 537 and 538 seems to me to be pretty clearly demanded by the sense of the sentence.

3. Deianira and Iole.

1 and 3. Clytaemnestra and Deianira kill husband.

1 and 2. Clytaemnestra and Medea kill rival.

2 and 3. Medea and Deianira use poisoned garment.¹

1 and 3. Rival brought into house.

2 and 3. Rival a second wife (or practically so in 3).

1 and 3. Rival taken in sack of a city.

This comparison has, I venture to think, a certain value for the study of the development of tragic motives.

Enough has been said already, I venture to think, to prove that in writing the *Trachinians* Sophocles had the *Medea* before him, and that in the case of this play, too, he paid Euripides the compliment of imitation. But I would further call attention to two passages in the *Trachinians* in which Sophocles seems to have been influenced in details by the *Medea*. In *Trach.* 602 Deianira describes the poisoned shirt to Lichas as *τόνδε ταναῦφῃ* (Wunder's certain correction: see Jebb *ad loc.*) *πέπλον*. The fact that *ταναῦφῃ* is glossed by the Greek lexicographers by *λεπτοῖφῃ* and the inappropriateness of the term *πέπλος* to describe the garment in question (see on both points Jebb *ad loc.*) make it almost certain that Sophocles was thinking of the *λεπτὸν πέπλον* of *Med.* 786 and was improving on the adjective. Again, Heracles *κόσμῳ τε χαίρων καὶ στολῇ* (*Trach.* 764) resembles, as has been noted (see Jebb *ad loc.*), Glauce *δώροις ὑπερχαίρουσα* (*Med.* 1165). Even the phrase *κόσμῳ τε καὶ στολῇ* is more appropriate to Medea's double gift than to Deianira's single one.

III.

Cicero's Translation of Trach. 1046-1102.

A more careful comparison than has yet, so far as I am aware, been made of the translation of *Trach.* 1046-1102 which Cicero inserted in the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 2. 8, 20—9, 22, will prove of value, not only for our knowledge of the text of this portion of the *Trachinians*, but also for our knowledge of Cicero's acquaintance with Greek and his manner of translating it. I have deemed it the clearest and simplest method of pursuing this comparison to place

¹ A garment, but not a poisoned one, is an important part of the apparatus of the murder in the *Agamemnon*.

side by side the translation and the original and then to append thereto certain critical and explanatory notes. The text of Cicero is based on Baiter-Kayser and Mueller, that of Sophocles on Jebb. The two passages are numbered continuously to facilitate reference. I shall use L. 1, 2, etc., in referring to the Latin; G. 1, 2, etc., in referring to the Greek. The italics are intended to mark those words and phrases in which Cicero most closely *Graeca expressit*.

- O multa dictu gravia, perpessu aspera,
 quae corpore exanclata atque animo pertuli;
 nec mihi Iunonis terror implacabilis
 nec tantum invexit tristis Eurystheus mali,
 5 quantum una vaecors Oeneo patre edita.
 Haec me inretivit veste furiali inscium
 quae lateri inhaerens morsu lacerat viscera
 urguensque graviter pulmonum haurit spiritus;
 iam decolorem sanguinem omnem exsorbuìt:
 10 sic corpus clade horribili absumptum extabuit,
 ipse inligatus peste interimor textili.
 Hos non hostilis dextra, non terra edita
 moles Gigantum, non biformato impetu
 Centaurus ictus corpori infixit meo,
 15 non Graia vis, non barbara ulla immanitas,
 non saeva terris gens relegata ultimis
 quas peragrans undique omnem ecferitatem expuli,
 sed feminae vir feminea interimor manu.
 O nate, vere hoc nomen usurpa patri;
 20 ne me occidentem matris superet caritas.
 Huc adripe ad me manibus abstractam piis;
 iam cernam mene an illam potiozem putes.
 Perge, aude, nate, inlacrima patris pestibus,
 miserere: gentes nostras flebunt miseras.
 25 Heu, virginalem me ore ploratum edere
 quem vidit nemo ulli ingemiscentem malo.
 Ecfeiminata virtus adflicta occidit.
 Accede, nate, adsiste, miserandum aspice
 evisceratum corpus laceratum patris.
 30 Videte, cuncti; tuque, caelestum sator,
 iace, obsecro, in me vim coruscantem fulminis.*

- 1046 ἌΩ πολλὰ δὴ καὶ θερμὰ κοῦ λόγῳ κακὰ
καὶ χερσὶ καὶ νώτοισι μοχθήσας ἐγὼ ·
κοῦ πῶ τοιοῦτον οὔτ' ἄκοιτις ἢ Διὸς
προὔθηκεν οὔθ' ὁ στυγνὸς Εὐρυσθεὺς ἐμοί,
1050 οἷον τόδ' ἢ δολῶπις Οἰνέως κόρη
καθῆψεν ὥμοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς Ἐρινύων
ὑφαντὸν ἀμφίβληστρον, ᾧ διόλλυμαι ·
πλευραῖσι γὰρ προσμαχθὲν ἐκ μὲν ἐσχάτας
βέβρωκε σάρκας πλεύμονός τ' ἀρτηρίας
1055 ῥοφεῖ ξυνοικοῦν, ἐκ δὲ χλωρὸν αἱμὰ μου
10 πέπωκεν ἤδη, καὶ διέφθαρμαι δέμας
τὸ πᾶν ἀφράστῳ τῇδε χειρωθεὶς πέδη.
Καὶ ταῦτα λόγχῃ πεδιάς οὔθ' ὁ γηγενὴς
στρατὸς Γιγάντων οὔτε θήριος βία
1060 οὔθ' Ἑλλὰς οὔτ' ἄγλωσσος οὔθ' ὄσσην ἐγὼ
15 γαῖαν καθαίρων ἐκόμην ἔδρασέ πῶ ·
† γυνὴ δὲ θῆλυς οὔσα κοῦκ ἀνδρὸς φύσιν †
μόνη με δὴ καθεῖλε φασγάνου δίχα. —
ἌΩ παῖ, γενοῦ μοι παῖς ἐτήτυμος γεγὼς
1065 καὶ μὴ τὸ μητρὸς ὄνομα πρεσβεύσης πλέον.
20 Δός μοι χερσὶν σαῖν αὐτὸς ἐξ οἴκου λαβὼν
ἐς χεῖρα τὴν τεκοῦσαν, ὥς εἰδῶ σάφα,
εἰ τοῖμὸν ἀλγείς μᾶλλον ἢ κείνης, ὄρων.
[λωβητὸν εἶδος ἐν δίκῃ κακούμενον]
1070 Ἰθ', ὦ τέκνον, τόλμησον οἰκτιρόν τέ με
25 πολλοῖσιν οἰκτρὸν, ὅστις ὥστε παρθένος
βέβρυχα κλαίων — καὶ τόδ' οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ποτὲ
τόνδ' ἄνδρα φαίῃ πρόσθ' ἰδεῖν δεδρακότα,
ἀλλ' ἀστένακτος αἰὲν εἰπόμεν κακοῖς ·
1075 νῦν δ' ἐκ τοιοῦτου θῆλυς ἠῦρημαι τάλας.
30 Καὶ νῦν προσελθὼν στήθι πλησίον πατρός,
σκέψαι δ' ὁποίας ταῦτα συμφορᾶς ὕπο
πέπονθα · δείξω γὰρ τάδ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων.
Ἰδοὺ θεᾶσθε, πάντες, ἄθλιον δέμας ·
1080 ὁρᾶτε τὸν δύστηνον ὡς οἰκτρῶς ἔχω.
35 Ἄιαῖ, ὦ τάλας, αἰαῖ ·
ἔθαλψεν ἄτης σπασμὸς ἀρτίως ὄδ' αἶ,
διῆξε πλευρῶν · οὐδ' ἀγύμναστόν μ' ἔαν
ἔοικεν ἢ τάλαινα διαβόρος νόσος.

- Nunc, nunc dolorum anxiferi torquent vertices,
nunc serpit ardor. O ante victrices manus,
o pectora, o terga, o lacertorum tori,*
- 35 *vestrone pressu quondam Nemeaeus leo
frendens efflavit graviter extremum halitum?
Haec dextra Lernam taetra mactata excetra
pacavit? Haec bicorporem adflixit manum?
Erymanthiam haec vastificam abiecit beluam?*
- 40 *Haec e Tartarea tenebrica abstractum plaga
tricipitem eduxit hydra generatum canem?
Haec interemit tortu multiplicabili
draconem auriferam obtutu adservantem arborem?
Multa alia victrix nostra gustavit manus,
45 nec quisquam e nostris spolia cepit laudibus.*

L. 1 bears witness to the fact (as has been noted: see Jebb *ad loc.*) that Cicero's text of Sophocles was the same as ours in the words *καὶ λόγῳ*, for which Bothe's *κοῦ λόγῳ* is generally (and rightly) accepted, as above. It seems probable that the corruption *καὶ* for *κοῦ* was universal in the texts of Sophocles in Cicero's time, and that it is one of the very early blunders in Sophocles's text, like the confusion of the negatives at the beginning of the *Antigone*. (I hold *ἄτης ἄτερ* in *Ant.* 4 to be original: see *Classical Review* XIII, 386.)¹ It may be added that Wunder and van Herwerden thought that the error in Sophocles's text lay, not in *καὶ* but in the following words. The latter of these scholars writes in his *Exercitationes Criticae*, p. 127: Quod reponendum suspicabar: *καὶ λόγων πέρα*, iamdudum ante me proposuisse Wunderum nunc video. Certa est, si qua alia, emendatio.—In L. 2 (where, by the way, it seems very likely that Cicero wrote *exanclavi*, not *exanclata*) it has been supposed that Cicero's *animo* bears witness to a text different from the traditional one. The truth seems to be, as Dr Zielinski appears to hint ("Excuse zu den Trachinierinnen," *Philologus* 55 [1896], 625), that Cicero crossed, or conflated, his translation of Sophocles with the reminiscence of Eur. *Alc.* 837, where Heracles cries: ὦ πολλὰ τλάσα καρδία καὶ χεὶρ ἐμή. This is the more probable from the fact that we have a certain case below of a passage in which Sophocles and Euripides are conflated by Cicero in his translation. It may be noted in passing that the Greek does not warrant Cicero's

¹ See below, p. 52.

- 1085 ὦναξ Ἄϊδη, δέξαι μ' .
 40 ὦ Διὸς ἀκτίς, παῖσον.
 Ἐνσεισον ὦναξ, ἐγκατάσῃσον βέλος,
 πάτερ, κεραυνοῦ· δαίνυται γὰρ αὖ πάλιν,
 ἦνθηκεν ἐξώρμηκεν. ὦ χέρες χέρες,
 1090 ὦ νῶτα καὶ στέρν', ὦ φίλοι βραχίονες,
 45 ὑμεῖς δὲ κείνοι δὴ καθέσταθ' οἱ ποτὲ
 Νεμέας ἔνοικον, βουκόλων ἀλάστορα,
 λέοντ', ἄπλατον θρέμμα κἄπροσῆγορον,
 βία κατηργάσασθε Λερναίαν θ' ὕδραν
 1095 διφυᾶ τ' ἄμεικτον ἵπποβάμονα στρατὸν
 50 θηρῶν — ὑβριστὴν ἄνομον ὑπέροχον βίαν —
 Ἐρμυμάνθιον τε θήρα τόν θ' ὑπὸ χθονὸς
 Ἄϊδου τρίκρανον σκύλακ' — ἀπρόσμαχον τέρας,
 δεινῆς Ἐχιδνῆς θρέμμα — τόν τε χρυσέων
 1100 δράκοντα μῆλων φύλακ' ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις τόποις.
 55 Ἄλλων τε μόχθων μυρίων ἐγευσάμεν,
 κοῦδεῖς τροπαῖ' ἔστησε τῶν ἐμῶν χερῶν.

treating πολλὰ κακὰ as a vocative, or rather in translating as if the Greek had been something like: ὦ πολλὰ δὴ . . . κακὰ, ἃ . . . μοχθήσας ἔχω. But this is a mere detail.—In L. 4 sq. *tantum—quantum* may indicate that Cicero read τοσοῦτον — ὅσον in G. 3 and 5. He could just as well have written *tale—quale*, so far as the verse is concerned. But this is uncertain.—L. 5 (in which I have substituted Bentley's *Oeneo patre* for the traditional *Oenei partu*, on which phrase see Sorof *ad loc.*) is interesting, furthermore, as indicating either how Cicero's Greek text was pointed or how he thought it should be pointed. He seems to have made a full stop after κόρη (G. 5) and to have missed the construction of οἶον τόδ' . . . καθήψεν. This criticism, if just, does not speak well for Cicero's knowledge of Greek. But we shall find other things quite as bad. It may be noted here that *vaecors* is no translation of δολῶπις.—The *me inscium* of L. 6, where we should expect a translation of the ὑφαντὸν of G. 7, looks as though Cicero had read ἄφαντον (sc. με): but, when we come to his translation of G. 12 in L. 11, we find *textili* answering to ἀφράστω. Had Cicero's text ἄφραστον in the place of ὑφαντὸν, and ὑφαντῶ in the place of ἀφράστω? or did he deliberately shift those words in his translation to suit a whim? A hard

question that to answer.—In L. 7 *viscera* seems clearly to be a translation of ἐσχάτας σάρκας (G. 8 sq.).—The *urguens* of L. 8 looks as though Cicero had had before him something other than ξυνοικοῦν of G. 10 (e. g. ξυνεῖργον); but I venture to think that we are not justified in assuming that such is the case. When we remember how constantly συνοικεῖν is used of wedlock, and how Horace (*Carm.* i. 5, 2) uses *urguere* in about the sense of *amplecti* of a lover's embrace, have we not, perhaps, the explanation of Cicero's *urguens* here?—In L. 9 *decolorem* is, of course, a bad, though in form a very literal, translation of χλωρόν. It is plain here that Cicero did not understand his Greek.—From *corpus extabit* in L. 10 it is reasonably certain that Cicero's text had not διέφθαρμαι δέμας, the prevailing reading in G. 11, but διέφθαρται δέμας, which (auctore Jebb) is the reading of B (= cod. Parisin. 2787, saec. xiv). Cicero's Greek text here departs from the current of the tradition that has come down to us, but in a minor point.—L. 13 *moles*. Cicero might, as we see by comparing L. 38 with G. 50, have rendered more exactly by *manus*.—The fact that in L. 13 sq. θήριος βία of G. 14 is answered by *biformato impetu Centaurus* warrants the question whether Cicero read θήριος and not φήριος = Κενταύριος, *Centaureus*. It may fairly be queried whether Sophocles himself may not have written φήριος here and below (G. 51) φηρῶν, where we now read θηρῶν. Homer's reference to the Centaurs (A 268) as φηρσὶν ὄρεσκάοισι would be very familiar to Cicero.—But it is of even greater interest to observe how Cicero misunderstood and mistranslated βία (G. 14). The words οὔτε θήριος (or φήριος?) βία | οὔθ' Ἑλλάς (sc. γῆ) οὔτ' ἄγλωσσος (= βάρβαρος, sc. γῆ) he took as = οὔτε θήριος (φήριος?) βία οὔθ' Ἑλλάς <βία> οὔτ' ἄγλωσσος <βία>, and, besides that, he thought that βία, instead of being part of a periphrasis, had its most literal force. His *impetu*, *vis*, and *immanitas* demonstrate this most clearly. This is certainly staggering; but we must accept it.—In L. 17 it may be noted that *peragrans* represents ἰκόμεν and *undique omnem ecferitatem expuli καθάρων* in G. 16. Cicero translated pretty freely at this point and gets the *terris relegata ultimis* of L. 16 partly out of the γαῖαν of G. 16 and partly out of the notion of extent suggested in the ὅσῃν of G. 15.—L. 18 (where *feminae* for the traditional *feminea* seems to have been suggested by Bentley first) condenses into one verse G. 17 and 18, and Cicero comes out

almost even in number of verses with the first well-marked division of the Greek. Unfortunately, his Latin gives us no light on the original reading of the surely corrupt G. 17. Mudge's conjecture *θῆλυς κοῦκ ἔχουσι ἄνδρὸς φύσιν* seems pretty satisfactory and could easily have given rise to the traditional text. It is certainly 'elegans conjectura,' as Hermann says.—In L. 21 *pūs* would presumably mean 'dutiful,' as acting in accordance with a father's command. But the word answers to nothing in the Greek, and it is just possible that Cicero wrote *tuis* (= *σαῖν* G. 21).—From L. 22 it is quite clear that G. 24 was not in Cicero's text. Here Cicero's text was different from that which has come down to us in lacking an interpolation. The interpolation, as Nauck rightly judged it to be, is due to some one, of a time later than Cicero's (in all probability), that failed to understand *ὄρων* in *Trach.* 1068. It goes with *εἰδῶ σάφα*—'that I may know surely by the witness of my own eyes (*ὄρων*) whether it is for me that you feel the more or for her'—, but our interpolator understood 'that I may know surely whether it is for me that you feel the more or for her when you see—' and so wanted an object for *ὄρων*. Surely the case is a plain one. I add that Cicero's rendering of *εἰδῶ σάφα ὄρων* by *cernam* is one of his best touches, really a lucky hit.—The expansion of *πολλοῖσιν οἰκτρὸν* in G. 31 into *gentes nostras flebunt miserias* (L. 24) reads like a reminiscence of the mourning of the nations with Prometheus in Aesch. *Prom.* 406-413, a passage that was doubtless very familiar to Cicero. He translates from the *Prom. Vincit.* in *Tusc.* 3. 31, 76; and here within a few lines he begins his translation from the *Prometheus Solutus*.—In L. 28-33 (med.) Cicero, who in the first division of the speech had kept pace very closely in number of verses with his Greek original and who up to this point has 27 verses against 29, begins to grow sketchier in his treatment, as though he were growing weary of his task. He omits the greater part of Gr. 33 (*δείξω γὰρ . . . καλυμμάτων*), and renders what remains of Gr. 32 sq. with great freedom. Of G. 34-36 only *Ἴδού θεᾶσθε, πάντες*, is rendered. He omits, also, to translate G. 40 sq. and G. 43 sq. from *δαίννται* to *ἐξώρμηκεν*. What remains of G. 37-43 he renders pretty loosely and with a very free arrangement. Thus: *nunc serpit ardor* (L. 33) is made out of G. 37 (*ardor* from *ἔθαλψεν*); *nunc, nunc dolorum . . . vertices* (L. 32) is made out of G. 38 sq.; and *tuque . . . fulminis* (L. 30 sq.) is from G. 42 sq.

(Ἐνσεισον . . . κεραυνῷ). Sir Richard Jebb's remark in defence of *Trach.* 1069, that "Cicero wholly ignores vv. 1085 ff.: he ignores vv. 1080-1084 also, except in so far as their general sense is blended with his version of 1088 f., δαίνυται . . . ἐξώρμηκεν," may be compared with this.—The substance merely of G. 47-49 (med.) is given in L. 35 sq., and L. 36 is practically all Cicero.—It is curious to note that in L. 37 *excetra* represents ὕδραν of G. 49, whereas in L. 41 *hydra* is used to represent Ἐχίδνης of G. 54, which Cicero evidently took for a common noun. Cicero probably connected *excetra* and ἐχιδνα etymologically: he therefore reversed ὕδραν and ἐχίδνης (as he understood it) in his translation. This lends colour to the supposition that he reversed the adjectives in G. 7 and 12.—In rendering G. 51 and 53 Cicero omits, as in the case of G. 48, the somewhat trailing descriptive epithets of Sophocles.—We come now to what is in some ways the most interesting point of the whole translation. Cicero expresses G. 54 sq. τόν τε χρυσεών | δράκοντα μήλων φύλακ' ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις τόποις (where, by the way, Nauck was probably right in thinking τόποις a gloss; his χθονός may well be what Sophocles wrote) by: *Haec interemit tortu multiplicabili | draconem auriferam obtutu adservantem arborem*. Here *draconem* represents δράκοντα, *auriferam arborem* fairly well reproduces χρυσεών μήλων, and *adservantem* (though hardly *obtutu adservantem*) gives the thought of φύλακ'. But where does the rest come from? Plainly out of Euripides's *Medea* or Ennius's version of it; for in *Med.* 480-482 we read: δράκοντά θ' ὃς πάγχρυσον ἀμπέχων δέρος | σπείραυς ἔσφζε πολυπλόκοις ἄνπνος ὦν | κτείνας' ἀνέσχον σοι φάος σωτήριον. Here we have the original of *tortu multiplicabili* (σπείραυς πολυπλόκοις) and also the original of *obtutu adservantem* (ἔσφζε ἄνπνος ὦν). This proves for the text of Cicero that the conjecture *observantem* is without foundation. It looks, too, as if κτείνας' were the original of *interemit*. If that be so, we have evidence as early as Cicero's time (and perhaps as early as Ennius's) for κτείνας', for which the clever suggestion κοιμῶσ' has been made. If κοιμῶσ' is what Euripides wrote, the corruption is probably an early one.¹—In L. 44 it is perfectly

¹[See Professor Earle's edition of the *Medea* Introd. p. 53. "Frag. xciv, p. 260 Ribbeck: Nón commemorō quód draconis sáevi sopivi ímpetum, may be from Ennius's version of Eur. *Med.* 480-482. If this be so, Ennius would seem to have had κοιμῶσ', not κτείνας', in his text of v. 482." Also critical appendix, on v. 482. "κοιμῶσ' Barthold. This is ingenious and may be right."]

plain that *gustavit* (representing ἐγευσάμην) is what Cicero wrote, not *lustravit*, which is the reading of the Mss. Any intelligent scribe staggered by the unfamiliar metaphor would have been likely to substitute the familiar *lustravit* for the strange *gustavit*.

In conclusion it may be remarked that the study of this translation enables us to estimate with greater justice the degree of literalness with which we are to take Cicero's reference to the Roman plays that were doubtless his models as "fabellas Latinas ad verbum e Graecis expressas" (*de fin.* i. 2, 4); and we can understand, too, from the kind of knowledge—or ignorance—of classic Greek that he displays how he could quote with apparent satisfaction (*ad fam.* 7, 6) Ennius's murdering of Eur. *Med.* 214 sqq. (See *PAPA.* 1900 [Special Session], xxviii sq.¹)

NOTES ON SOPHOCLES *TRACHINIAE*.²

V. 55.

ἄνδρὸς κατὰ ζήτησιν οὐ πέμπεις τινά.

Neither Mr Blaydes nor Professor Jebb notices what I believe to be the most apposite parallel to κατὰ ζήτησιν here, viz. Eur. *Cycl.* 14 σέθεν κατὰ ζήτησιν.

¹[The abstract of Prof. Earle's paper in *PAPA.* l. c. was as follows :

In the discussion of Eur. *Med.* 214–224, an attempt was made to show that Ennius, in making the remarkable translation of vv. 214–218 which we find in Cic. *ad. fam.* 7, 6, had before him the traditional text, save perhaps that for δύσκειαν in v. 218 he read (what Prinz extracted from the Scholia) δύσνοιαν. In v. 215 Elmsley showed that Ennius probably read μέμψισθ' (so L). An English version of the verses in question from Ennius's point of view was essayed, thus : ' Corinthian ladies, I left home. Don't find any fault with me ; for I know that many people have, some of them become distinguished abroad, others of them at home—these from not going about have won infamy [assuming for the moment that Ennius read δύσκειαν] and sloth to boot.' Ennius would thus have made a heavy pause after δόμων (214), have taken πολλοὺς βροτῶν as distributed in τοὺς μὲν—τοὺς δ', have regarded τοὺς μὲν as placed ὑπερβατόν after σεμνοὺς γεγῶτας instead of logically (from his point of view) before those words, have taken ΟΙΑ in v. 217 as = οἷδ' (an anacoluthic resumption of τοὺς δ' at the head of the vs.), and, finally, have thought that ἀφ' ἡσυχου ποδὸς resumed adverbially the adjectival ἐν θυραίοις (note his *propter ea*). It may be added that *sunt improbatī* is a fitter rendering of δύσνοιαν ἐκτέσαντο (as Ennius misunderstood the idiom) than of δύσκειαν ἐκτέσαντο. It was further urged that vv. 219–221 are misplaced, Wytténbach's objection to γὰρ where it stands being well taken. It was proposed to place these verses after v. 224.—See also Prof. Earle's edition of the *Medea*, p. 51.]

² [From *The Classical Review*, vol. VII, (1893), pp. 449–451.]

V. 56 sq.

εἰ πατρός

νέμοι τιν' ὄραν τοῦ καλῶς πράσσειν δοκεῖν.

These words cannot be sound as they stand. A comparison of vv. 65 sq. (σὲ πατρός οὕτω δαρὸν ἐξενωμένον | τὸ μὴ πυθέσθαι ποῦ ἐστὶν αἰσχύνῃ φέρει<ν>) seems to show clearly that the slave-woman's speech contained a more pointed reflection on Hyllus than our present text gives. Therefore I propose to read πάρος | νέμει (the latter word is thus given in some MSS.). The Homericism in the construction of πάρος with the present is, I think, justifiable. Certainly 'if hitherto he has shown any regard for fair fame' is the sort of sentiment we should expect here under the circumstances.¹

V. 74 sq.

Εὐβοῖδα χώραν φασὶν, Εὐρύτου πόλιν,

ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτὸν, ἣ μέλλειν ἔτι.

In v. 75 I suspect that αὐτὸν has supplanted αὖ νιν (cf. *Ant.* 602). φασὶν—νιν in the present passage thus repeats φασί νιν in v. 70, the αὖ answering to μὲν in v. 69.

V. 92 sq.

χώρει νυν, ὦ παῖ· καὶ γὰρ ὑστέρῳ τό γ' εἶ

πράσσειν, ἐπεὶ πύθοιο, κέρδος ἐμπολᾷ.

πύθοιο has been made from πύθοιο in L,—a *Verschlimmerung* of the most pronounced sort. We should read thus:

καὶ γὰρ ὑστέρῳ τό γ' εἶ

πράσσειν—ἐπεὶ πύθοιο—κέρδος ἐμπολᾷ.

'For even though one be late, yet success—for I pray that you may get news—brings gain.' The prayer of Deianira thus echoes the promise of Hyllus (vv. 90 sq.). Mr Blaydes, with his accustomed acuteness, remarks that 'πύθοιο may perhaps be the true reading,' but goes no farther,—indeed he does not seem to appreciate the merits of the case.²

V. 148 sqq.

ἕως τις ἀντὶ παρθένου γυνῇ

κληθῇ, λάβῃ τ' ἐν νυκτὶ φροντιδων μέρος,

ἥτοι πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἣ τέκνων φοβουμένη.

¹ [In reading πάρος for πατρός Prof. Earle (see his note *C. R.* ix (1895), p. 395) had been anticipated by Mr H. W. Hayley.]

² [Professor Earle compared here *O. T.* v. 900, where he read in his edition of the play γένοι' after Wecklein.]

The expression of vv. 148-9 is charming. But the delicacy of λάβη τ' ἐν νυκτὶ φροντιδων μέρος seemed to some one to need a little explanation; therefore he added ἦτοι πρὸς ἀνδρος: some one else seems to have added ἡ τέκνων: yet another, who was skilled to 'roll out a rhesis' and 'stiffen' words (but not 'by wisdom') 'out into a line,' completed for us the fair trimeter numbered 150, which it were a kindness to Sophocles to bracket—at least. (I am, of course, aware that others have rejected the verse.)

Vv. 166 sq.

τότ' ἡ θανεῖν χρεῖη σφε τῷδε τῷ χρόνῳ
ἡ τοῦθ' ὑπεκδραμόντα τοῦ χρόνου τέλος
τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη ζῆν ἀλυπήτῳ βίῳ.

ὑπεκδραμόντα should not be altered. It is a familiar Euripidean metaphor drawn from a ship that outruns, or outrides, a storm. But τοῦ χρόνου so soon after τῷ χρόνῳ (and nearly under it) has been justly called in question. I cannot think highly of Mr Margoliouth's σὺν θεοῖς. My own conjecture is που μόρου, which I find confirmed (so far, at least, as the latter word is concerned) by Euripides (as we might indeed expect); for in *Andr.* 414 we read ἦν δ' ὑπεκδράμης μόρον (quoted also by Mr Blaydes but not utilized).

Vv. 178 sqq.

ἐπεὶ καταστεφῇ
στείχονθ' ὁρῶ τιν' ἀνδρα πρὸς χαρὰν λόγων.

Professor Jebb says that π. χ. λόγων 'refers to καταστεφῇ'; but I cannot so understand it. καταστεφῇ στείχοντα forms too close a unity to be thus separated. Rather join π. χ. λόγων with the second element στείχοντα (which amounts to joining with κατ. στείχ.). This supports the conjecture εἰσορμῶσι πρὸς χαρὰν βορᾶς in *Ant.* 30, in which I was long anticipated by Mr Blaydes: καταστεφῇ στείχ. π. χ. λόγων, which depicts a mutual joy, seems well illustrated by *Ant.* 148 sqq. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἁ μεγαλύνυμος ἦλθε Νίκα | τῇ πολυαρμάτῃ ἀντι-
χαρεῖσα Θήβα.

Vv. 196 sqq.

τὸ γὰρ ποθοῦν ἕκαστος ἐκμαθεῖν θέλων
οὐκ ἂν μεθεῖτο, πρὶν καθ' ἡδονὴν κλύειν.

τὸ ποθοῦν is one of those phrases that (*mea quidem sententia*) carry about them an air of genuineness. The trouble seems to lie solely

in ἐκμαθεῖν. Why may we not suppose this to have arisen from ἐκπλήσσει, with μαθών added as an explanatory gloss?

V. 516.

μόνα δ' εὐλεκτρος ἐν μέσῳ Κύπρις ῥαβδονόμει ξυνοῦσα.

Is ξυνείσα possible here (notwithstanding the sense that ξυνίεναι elsewhere bears in the tragedians) as a Homericism, in the sense of *committere*? Certainly 'acted as umpire after bringing them together in strife' is more vigorous than the sense conveyed by the traditional text. μάχα for μόνα were perhaps too rash.

Vv. 608 sqq.

πρὶν κείνος αὐτὸν φανερός ἐμφανῶς σταθείς
δείξῃ θεοῖσιν ἡμέρα ταυροσφάγῃ.

φανερὸς ('made from φανερός in L') is pretty clearly a gloss on ἐμφανῶς that has got into the text and ejected something. I would suggest αὐτὸν ἐμφανῶς, θυτῆρ σταθείς (suggested by v. 1192, as was Froelich's conjecture φανερόν ἐμφανῆς θυτῆρ).

Vv. 672 sqq.

τοιούτων ἐκβέβηκεν, οἶον, ἣν φράσω,
γυναῖκες ὑμῖν (v. l. ἡμῖν) θαῦμ' ἀνέλπιστον μαθεῖν.

The second verse seems clearly wrong. The dative in the pronoun cannot well be construed, nor does the emendation ὑμᾶς seem to touch the root of the evil. The corruption lies most probably, as it seems to me, in γυναῖκες, which I conjecture to have supplanted a word with which the dative was to be construed. This word was, I believe, *πάρεστιν*. The presence of γυναῖκες can easily be accounted for as a gloss explaining ὑμῖν, or rather clearly indicating the second person, not the first. γυναῖκες has, I think, similarly effected an entrance in Eur. *Hipp.* 294 (as a gloss on αἶδε), where I conjecture *πάρεισιν*.

V. 903.

κρύψας' ἐάντην ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι.

Professor Jebb's explanation of ἔνθα—εἰσίδοι as an outgrowth of the 'deliberative construction' calls for an emphatic protest. The local-temporal ἔνθα is here, as elsewhere, merely following in the footsteps of ἵνα, which itself is sometimes followed by the future after the usual fashion of ἔνθα: cf. e.g. *Trach.* 1157 sqq. In such a passage as Eur. *Cycl.* 345 sqq. ἀλλ' ἔσπετ' εἶσω, τῷ κατ' αὐλίον θεῷ | ἔν'—εὖωχῇτέ με it may not be unfair to give ἵνα a local sense.

V. 941 sqq.

κλαίων δθούνεκ' ἐκ δυοῖν ἔσοιθ' ἄμα,
πατρός τ' ἐκείνης τ', ὠρφανισμένος βίου.

For βίου Wakefield corrected βίον, which is accepted by Jebb, though seemingly without sufficient warrant. βία would seem far more natural. It may be noted that in v. 1015 we find what looks like the same corruption. Here for βίου Wakefield reads βία.

SOPHOCLES, TRACHINIAE 26-48.

*A Study in Interpretation.*¹

Deianira prologizes with the tale of her sorrows. This falls into two parts: the sorrows of her wooing and the sorrows of her wedded life. The former part closes with the fight of Achelous and Heracles. Of this Deianira cannot tell the details: only a disinterested spectator could do that. As for her, she sat stricken with fear lest her beauty find her pain at last. (This paraphrase of vv. 21-25 brings out the thought that underlies ἀταρβής τῆς θέας in v. 23 and shows that v. 25 which has been condemned by Dobree, Hartung and Nauck, has its force in the context.) So she sat in mortal terror; 'but at last Zeus as umpire (ἀγώνιος) ended the contest (for we unconsciously think of τέλος as adverb as well as object of ἔθηκε) well—if indeed it was well; for though as bride to Heracles adjudged with him I took my stand, ever since have I been nursing a continuous succession of fears.' We must pause here a moment to defend the interpretation just offered.

The words τέλος δ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀγώνιος καλῶς, | εἰ δὲ καλῶς (vv. 26 sq.) are plain enough. Of them we need only say that τέλος with its aorist ἔθηκε marks sharply the conclusion of the action expressed by ἦμην (v. 24), brings to an end the terrified sitting of Deianira. The importance of this observation will be apparent presently. In the following sentence γὰρ obviously introduces a reason for the added εἰ δὲ καλῶς. The participle ξυστᾶσ' (v. 28) is naturally concessive. Thus much is clear; but the construction of λέχος, the meaning of κριτὸν, and the meaning and possible incorrectness of ξυστᾶσ' have given the commentators trouble. As we are dealing with a series

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, vol. ix (1895), pp. 200-202.]

of actions and events our examination of these words will, I conceive, proceed best in reverse order. We begin then with *ξυστᾶσα*.

If we consider this word in connection with the context, exclusive of *λέχος κριτὸν*, and take it in its literal sense, it will mean that, when Zeus gave the victory to Heracles, Deianira, who had been sitting an anxious spectator of the conflict, took her stand at Heracles's side. If we take the word thus literally, it looks to *ἤμην* in v. 24 and forms a parallel to *τέλος ἔθηκε* in v. 26, thus continuing the aorist in participial form. We can bring out its force more clearly if we paraphrase thus: *τέλος δὲ θέντος Διὸς ἀγωνίου Ἡρακλεῖ ξυνέστην*. If this be the meaning of *ξυστᾶσ'*, we shall see in it what Professor Gildersleeve might call a plastic touch. The whole fight is a rude one like a struggle of beasts (Achelous is a bull when *ἐναργής* and bull-headed at the best) for the possession of the female, who follows the victorious male. A support of this view may be seen at the conclusion of that chorus in which the fight is described (vv. 497-530). There we read (vv. 523 sqq.): *ἀ δ' εὐώπις ἄβρὰ | τηλαυγεί παρ' ὄχθῳ | ἦ σ τ ο, τὸν δὲ προσμένονσ' ἀκοίταν. |* (Probably corrupt verse.) *| τὸ δ' ἀμφινείκητον ὄμμα νύμφας | ἐλεινὸν ἀμμένει · | καπὸ ματρὸς ἄφαρ βέβακεν, | ὥστε* (so A : L reads *ὥσπερ*) *π ὁ ρ τ ις ἐρήμα.*

If now this interpretation of *ξυστᾶσα* be a fair one, *λέχος* is to be taken as nominative, not as accusative. (It has indeed been accepted as nominative by G. C. W. Schneider (1824), Linwood, Wakefield, Blaydes, Paley, Schneidewin-Nauck, Jebb. Hermann, however, understood it as accusative, and so too Wunder and Campbell.)

As for *κριτὸν* we should naturally say that, inasmuch as we have the contest decided by *Ζεὺς ἀγώνιος* and as the clause in which *κριτὸν* stands describes the result of that decision, *κριτὸν* should be taken in the simple sense of 'adjudged,' 'decreed,'—not 'chosen' as the scholiast's *ἐκκριτον* would imply. Professor Campbell, although he takes *λέχος* in the sense of 'marriage,' translates *κριτὸν* as 'adjudged to him' (Heracles) and acutely annotates *Ἡρακλεῖ* thus: "*Ἡρακλεῖ* is primarily (a) dative after *κριτὸν*, and secondarily (b) dative after *ξυστᾶσα*." We return now to the narration.

'I have been nursing,' says Deianira, 'a continuous succession of fears (*αἰεί τιν' ἐκ φόβον φόβον τρέφω*), anxious for *him* (for night brings [him] in and night thrusts [him] away with a fresh toil).' The *κείνον* in *κείνου προκηραίνουσα* is emphatically placed and suggests a

contrast. The following clause νύξ γὰρ εἰσάγει | καὶ νύξ ἀπωθεῖ διαδεδεγμένη πόνον (vv. 29-30) can, it should seem, in view of the context, hardly be taken in any other way than as I have rendered it. For not only is κείνον the emphatic word in what immediately precedes, but the διαδεδεγμένη πόνον suggests at once a parallel with ἐκ φόβου φόβον, as who should say ἐκ πόνου πόνον παρέχουσα. For this interpretation we have such support as is afforded by the scholiast's ἀντὶ νυκτὸς ἔρχεται καὶ νυκτὸς ἐξορμᾶται ὡς [μὴ] διαδοχὴν μοι τῶν πόνων γενέσθαι (the μὴ between ὡς and διαδοχὴν spoils the sense and appears to be a dittography of μοι after διαδοχὴν). (So too in v. 825 we find ἀναδοχὰν πόνων of Heracles's labours, though this has been questioned and emended to ἀναπνοὰν πόνων. Cf. also vv. 34-35.) It seems most natural to accept the repeated νύξ as referring to one and the same night, to suppose that Heracles comes home late and goes off on a fresh quest before the dawn. In accepting this (to me, at least) most natural interpretation I follow Professor Campbell, who offers strong objections to the other renderings of which the one makes πόνον the object of both the verbs and the participle, interpreting it as the anxiety of Deianira (= φόβον), while the other makes an understood pronoun referring to Heracles the object of the verbs and takes πόνον, again of Deianira's anxiety, as object of the participle. But, however we understand the clause νύξ—πόνον, we find the great stumbling-block of this entire passage in vv. 31-37.

The first words of this passage are now always read (according to L, A and other MSS.) *κάφυσάμεν δὴ παῖδας*, but they were long read (according to B) *κάφυσα μὲν δὴ παῖδας*. As there is nothing for the μὲν to refer to, the choice between the two readings is easy; but it has not been observed that the δὴ is perhaps as bad. 'So' (Campbell), 'nun' (Schneidewin-Nauck), 'then' (Jebb) do not somehow appeal to one. It seems quite obvious that the phrase looks back to κείνον προκηραίνουσα and that we have here in παῖδας the correlative to the emphatic κείνον. If such be the case, the sense should be: 'And I have borne children too.' That would be expressed *κάφυσάμεν δὲ παῖδας*. Here we come upon the explanation of the variation of reading in the MSS. *ΚΑΦΥCΑΜΕΝΔΕΠΑΙΔΑC* was wrongly divided *κάφυσα μὲν δὲ παῖδας*, then emended to *κάφυσα μὲν δὴ παῖδας*, then still further emended to *κάφυσάμεν δὴ παῖδας*.

The remainder of v. 31, οὓς κείνός ποτε, we will leave for the

moment, without determining the meaning of *ποτε*, in order to examine the comparison that follows. This comparison runs thus:

γῆτης ὅπως ἄρουραν ἔκτοπον λαβὼν
 σπείρων μόνον προσεῖδε κάξαμῶν ἅπαξ
 τοιοῦτος αἶων εἰς δόμους τε καὶ δόμων
 αἰεὶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἔπεμπε λατρεύοντά τψ.

If these four verses be taken by themselves and the modern punctuation disregarded the meaning is perfectly clear. It is this: 'As a husbandman that has taken a field at a distance sees it but once at seed time and (once again) at harvest (each year), that was the sort of life that continually (brought) my husband home and sent (him) from home in the service of somebody or other.' The comparison is delicately made. Heracles is the *γῆτης*, Deianira is the *ἄρουρα*. As the *γῆτης* visits his field *σπείρων*, so Heracles visits Deianira; as the *γῆτης* does not visit his field again till the time of reaping, so Heracles on his return finds a child born of Deianira. The aorist *προσεῖδε* can only be gnomic. Did it refer directly to Heracles, we should have an imperfect. We thus see that *οὗς* and *κείνος* have no construction. The thread of the thought broken by the *ὅπως* clause is resumed not by *οὕτως κείνος* but by the more general *τοιοῦτος αἶων*. But what is the meaning of *ποτε*?

Alone of the commentators Tournier has seen that *ποτε* is the correlative of *νῦν* in v. 36 (*νῦν δ' ἡνίκ' ἄθλων τῶνδ' ὑπερτελῆς ἔφυ*). '*ποτε*,' says he, 'paraît s'opposer à *νῦν* δέ du vers 36. Mais l'ensemble de la phrase n'est guère satisfaisant.' But the unsatisfactory character of the context is due to the fact that Tournier, like the other commentators, construes *οὗς κείνός ποτε σπείρων μόνον προσεῖδε κάξαμῶν ἅπαξ*, making *γῆτης ὅπως ἄρουραν ἔκτοπον λαβὼν* parenthetic. But with the comparison rightly understood and punctuated the context is quite satisfactory. 'Whom he once (or, formerly), as a husbandman, etc., but now, etc.' For the correlation of *ποτε* and *νῦν* δέ we need only compare *Phil.* 96 sqq. *ἐσθλοῦ πατρὸς παῖ, καὶ τὸς ὧν νέος ποτὲ | γλώσσαν μὲν ἄργον, χεῖρα δ' εἶχον ἐργάτιν · νῦν δ' εἰς ἔλεγχον ἐξῶν ὁρῶ βροτοῖς | τὴν γλώσσαν, οὐχὶ τᾶργα, πάνθ' ἡγουμένην.*

If all this is so Deianira has told us in effect that Heracles *formerly* (*ποτε*) came home about once every ten months, and we expect her to say that now (*νῦν*) he has been away considerably over that time. And that is precisely what she does say, but in her

own woman's way—circumstantially, reverting to her fears and anxieties first. Thus (vv. 36-42):

νῦν δ', ἡνίκ' ἄθλων τῶνδ' ὑπερτελῆς ἔφνυ,
ἐνταῦθα δὴ (= νῦν δὴ) μάλιστα ταρβήσας' ἔχω·
ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἕκτα κείνος Ἰφίτου βίαν,
ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν Τραχίνι τῇδ' ἀνάστατοι
ξένῳ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ναίομεν, κείνος δ' ὅπου
βέβηκεν οὐδείς οἶδε· πλὴν ἐμοὶ πικρὰς
ᾠδῖνας (= φόβους) αὐτοῦ προσβαλὼν ἀποίχεται.

Then follows what we have so long expected (vv. 43-45):

σχεδὸν δ' ἐπίσταμαί τι πῆμ' ἔχοντά νιν·
χρόνον γὰρ οὐχὶ βασιδόν, ἀλλ' ἥδη δέκα
μῆνας πρὸς ἄλλοις πέντ' ἀκήρυκτος μένει·

Heracles has thus been away, to be quite prosaic, half as long again as usual.

But Deianira has not quite finished her speech. She has said (v. 43): 'And I am pretty certain that he is suffering some misfortune,' after which she gives in the γὰρ clause (v. 44 sq) reason for her belief that it is 'some misfortune'; then she adds (vv. 46-48): 'And it is some *terrible* misfortune: *that* was the import of the tablet that he left with me when he was taking leave. I often pray to the gods that I may prove to have received it without harm' (κάστιν τι δεινὸν πῆμα· τοιαύτην ἐμοὶ | δέλτον λιπὼν ἔστειχε, τὴν ἐγὼ θαμὰ | θεοῖς ἀρῶμαι πημονῆς ἄτερ λαβεῖν). But she has not 'received it without harm', and thereby hangs a tale—the drama of the *Trachinians*, the prologue to which would seem incomplete without the concluding words of Deianira.

I append verses 26-37 as I would read them. I may add that although the commentators have mismanaged the ὅπως clause, Dr. Plumptre in his translation has done much better; for he renders thus (the italics, etc., are mine):

'Yea! (= δὴ) sons were born to us,
And like a husbandman who tills the soil
Of distant field, and *sees* the crop (!) but once,
Sowing and reaping, *so is he to them*;
Such course of life still sends him home to me,
And far from home, in servile labour bound
To one we know.'

τέλος δ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀγώνιος καλῶς—
 εἰ δὴ καλῶς · λέχος γὰρ Ἡρακλεῖ κριτὸν
 ξυστᾶσ' αἰεί τιν' ἐκ φόβου φόβον τρέφω
 κείνου προκηραίνουσα—νῦξ γὰρ εἰσάγει
 καὶ νῦξ ἀπωθεῖ διαδεδεγμένη πόνον—,
 κάφύσαμεν δὲ παῖδας, οὓς κείνός ποτε—
 γήτης ὅπως ἄρουραν ἔκτοπον λαβὼν
 σπείρων μόνον προσεῖδε κάξαμῶν ἄπαξ,
 τοιοῦτος αἰὼν ἐς δόμους τε καὶ δόμων
 αἰεὶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἔπεμπε λατρεύοντά τῃ ·
 νῦν δ', ἡνίκ' ἀθλων τῶνδ' ὑπερτελῆς ἔφυ,
 ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα ταρβήσας' ἔχω.

ADNOTATIONES AD SOPHOCLIS TRACHINIAS.¹

Vv. 1-3.

Λόγος μὲν ἔστ' ἀρχαῖος <ἐκ τινὸς> φανείς,
 ὥς οὐκ ἂν αἰὼν' ἐκμάθοι βροτῶν πρὶν ἂν
 θάνῃ τις οὔτ' εἰ χρηστὸς οὔτ' εἰ τῷ κακός ·

'Est sane verbum vetus a quodam prolatum, neminem facile mortaliū ante quam mortuus sit vitam suam cognitā posse habere bonamne an malam habuerit'.

In graecis, quae latine quam verissime exprimere sum conatus, sunt quae diligentissime perpendamus oporteat. Ac primum quidem in primo ipso versiculo dubium non potest esse, quin illud ἔστ' idem valeat atque ὑπάρχει. Deinde eodem in versu e Blaydesii coniectura pro tradito illo ἀνθρώπων reponendum esse censeo ἐκ τινὸς. Tralaticia scriptura quin ex interpretamento interlineari βροτῶν vocabulo superscripto profluxerit nulla mihi est dubitatio. Hac de coniectura vel potius, ut mihi quidem videtur, emendatione alibi iam scripsi: v. Classical Review, vii. 1893, p. 449.² Ad ἀνθρώποις autem quod attinet, quam scripturam pro ἀνθρώπων e grammatico quodam afferunt³, id nihil aliud equidem esse puto nisi coniecturam a nescio quo ad sententiam tolerabilem efficiendam introductam. Tertium ex eis quae hisce in versibus maxime sunt memorabilia illud est, quod pro ἐκμάθοι L¹ ἐκμάθοις praebet, quam scripturam editorum plerique cupidius quam consideratius sunt amplexi. Nollem factum; nam illud

¹ [MS. notes.]

² [The note referred to here is superseded by this article, and is therefore not included in this volume.]

³ [Vide *Harvard Studies*, 12.148.]

ἐκμάθοι, quod et A praebet et Boissonadius, quem honoris causa nomino, in sua editiuncula tuetur, non tantum sensum praebet optimum, verum etiam e versibus quarto quintoque verum esse apparet. An cum sic pergat poeta vel potius uxor personata :

ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ πρὶν εἰς Ἄιδου μολεῖν

ἔξοιδ' ἔχουσα δυστυχῇ τε καὶ βαρύν,

sic inquam cum se habeat contextus verborum atque sententiarum, intellegentis est et rem suam consulte gerentis editoris ἐκμάθοι spernere, ἐκμάθοις accipere atque defendere? Nonne istud erat dedita opera meridiana in luce caecutire? Mihi quidem adeo plana res est atque aperta, vix ut opus videatur vel uno verbo amplius addito. Addo tamen illud, verba quae sunt οὐτ' εἰ χρηστὸς οὐτ' εἰ τῷ κακός nihil aliud valere nisi οὐτ' εἰ χρηστὸν οὐτ' εἰ κακὸν ἔσχεν, ad quae ex contrario optime respondet ἔξοιδ' ἔχουσα· δυστυχῇ τε καὶ βαρύν. Ac ne cui forte quidquam omisisse videar, animadverto τῷ pro nomine indefinito ita praecedens illud τις resumī quasi αὐτῷ personale scriptum sit. Cui loquendi rationi haud ita absimilis est ei quam Eur. *Hērph.* 46 offendimus, ubi praegresso ἀραῖσιν ἀς ὁ πόντιος | ἀναξ Ποσειδῶν ὤπασεν Θησεῖ γέρας legimus μηδὲν μάταιον (l. ματαίους) ἐς τρίς εὐξασθαι θεῶ,¹ quo loco, nisi obstaret metrica ratio, pro θεῶ haberemus αὐτῷ. Ad summam me credere profiteor Soloneum illud apud Herodotum, Sophoclis delicias, obvium leviter specie, re vera haud ita leviter immutatum suum in usum a poeta esse conversum.

Vv. 9-14.

μνηστὴρ γὰρ ἦν μοι ποταμός—Ἀχελῷον λέγω—

ὅς μ' ἐν τρισὶν μορφαῖσιν ἐξήτει πατὴρ

φοιτῶν ἐναργής, ταῦρος, ἄλλοτ' αἰόλος

δράκων ἐλκτός, ἄλλοτ' ἀνδρείῳ κύτει

βούπρῳρος ἐκ δὲ δασκίου γενειάδος

κρουνὸι διερραίνοντο κρηναίου ποτοῦ.

Huius loci cum veram scripturam ex Strabone reduxerint editores, veram interpunctionem non perspexerunt. Ita vero positae distinctionibus ut ego suadeo hunc in modum est intellegenda sententia relativa: ὅς μ' ἐξήτει πατὴρ ἐν τρισὶν μορφαῖσιν φοιτῶν ἐναργής (i. e. ἐπιφανόμενος), <ἄλλοτε> ταῦρος, ἄλλοτ' αἰόλος δράκων ἐλκτός, ἄλλοτ' ἀνδρείῳ κύτει βούπρῳρος ἐκ δασκίου γενειάδος κρουνούς διαρραίνων κρηναίου ποτοῦ.

¹ De huius loci vera interpunctione et interpretatione vide sis quae scripsi *Mnem.* 30. (1902), p. 136. [See below under Euripides.]

V .17.

πρὶν τοῦδε κοίτης ἐμπελασθῆναί ποτε ·

Versum e Wunderi coniectura sic sanatum haud facile equidem permittam ut eiciatur, immo vero strenue eam defendam, qui persuasum habeam ne unum quidem versum hoc ex prologo secludendum esse, cuius prologi versuum numerus duodequingagenarius ex ea ratione numerali videtur pendere quam in *Medeae* prologo observaverat Euripides: v. *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. xxxiii, 1902, pp. 16 sq.¹

V. 27 sq. Suspisor rescipendum esse λάχος γὰρ Ἑρακλεῖ κριτὸν | ξυστᾶς', i. e. λάχος γὰρ κριτὸν Ἑρακλεῖ ξυστᾶς'.

Vv. 29-31.

αἰεί τιν' ἐκ φόβου φόβον τρέφω,
κείνου προκηραίνουσα—νῦν γὰρ εἰσάγει
καὶ νῦν ἀπωθεῖ διαδεγεμένον πόνους—,
κάφύσαμεν δὲ παῖδας κτέ.

In versu 31 necessarium esse videtur pro tradito διαδεγεμένη πόνον Billerbeckii διαδεγεμένον πόνους. Verum non de hac potissimum correctione nunc agere volo, sed de ratione quae intercedit inter κείνου προκηραίνουσα et κάφύσαμεν δὲ παῖδας κτέ. Nam qui recte haec verba leget vel potius pronuntiabit, is necesse animadvertat κείνου et παῖδας inter sese opponi. Ne te morer, lector benevole, huc rem deducam. Duplex est Deianirae timor cum pro Hercule tum pro liberis suis reformidantis. Ad liberos quod attinet, satis obscure timorem suum declarat; nam illud ταραβήσας' ἔχω quod 37 demum versu occurrit aequè ad Herculem absentem atque ad liberos sine custode relictos spectat. Cetera quae de toto hoc loco ab editoribus pessime intellecto et sensi et adhuc sentio exposui in *Classical Review* ix, 1895, pp. 200-202.² Illud tantum habeo quod nunc addam, ἐφύσαμεν verbum de sola Deianira esse accipiendum tamquam eadem significatione praeditum atque ἔτεκον: cf. Eur. *Med.* 1063, quem versum fieri potest ut hic imitatus sit Sophocles.

In v. 44 sq., si vera sunt quae de denarii hoc loco mensium numeri significatione disputavi in *Classical Review* (loc. cit.), exspectandum erat ἀλλ' ἤδη δέκα | μῆσιν πρὸς ἄλλους πέντ' ἀκήρυκτος μένει. Satis tamen dubitanter hanc suspicionem profero.

¹ [See above, pp. 13 sq.]

² [See above. p. 29.]

CΑΛΕΥΕΙΝ.¹

In Soph. *O. T.* 694 sqq. we read (following at the end the first hand of L) :

ὅς τ' ἐμὴν γὰρ φίλαν ἐν πόνοισιν
ἀλύνουσιν κατ' ὄρθον οὐρῖσας,
τανῦν τ' εὐπομπὸς εἰ δύναι γενοῦ.

Dobree wrote *σαλεύουσιν* for *ἀλύνουσιν*. This cannot fail to be the original,—‘especially’ (to quote Blaydes’s words) ‘as the rest of the imagery in this passage is borrowed from the sea (οὐρῖσας, εὐπομπὸς).’ We naturally compare *O. T.* 22—24 and *Ant.* 162 sqq. It is scarcely worth while to quote Schol. L *σαλεύει*] ἡ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν χειμαζομένων νεῶν, and πολλῶ σάλψι] τροπικῶς ὡς ἐπὶ νεώς. But Professor Jebb’s note on *O. T.* 695 is astonishing: ‘ἀλύνουσιν, of one maddened by suffering, *Ph.* 1194 ἀλύνοντα χειμερίψι λύπη. The conjecture *σαλεύουσιν* would be correct but tame.’ Leaving the latter of these sentences to fall by its own weight, let us direct our attention to the parallel cited in the former. This is in full (*Phil.* 1193—5) :

οὔτοι νεμεσητόν,
ἀλύνοντα χειμερίψι
λύπη καὶ παρὰ νοῦν θροεῖν.

Here *χειμερίψι* shows plainly that the metaphor is from the sea (‘ἀπὸ τῶν χειμαζομένων νεῶν’) and directs us to read not *ἀλύνοντα* but *σαλεύοντα*. Indeed the Schol. L *ad loc.* points to this: *χειμερίψι* | *λύπη* *ταραχῶδε* *πάθει*, *μεταφορικῶς*· οὐκ ἔστι, *φησί*, *μεμπτόν* τῷ *δυστυχοῦντι* καὶ *παραφθέγγεσθαι*, —not *παραφρονοῦντι* καὶ *παραφθέγγεσθαι*, which would be the translation of the traditional text and would bring out fully its insipidity. On *Phil.* 1194 Professor Jebb cites *Phil.* 174, where the context (173—5) is :

νοσεῖ μὲν νόσον ἀγρίαν
ἀλύει δ' ἐπὶ παντί τῳ
χρείας ἵσταμένψ.

This is not a parallel: *ἀλύει* is right, as is shown by the construction of *ἐπὶ* cum dat. after it, and is rightly explained by the translation of Schol. L *ἀλύει*] *ἀλγεί*, *ἀπορεῖ*. With *σαλεύειν* we expect a locative: instrumental construction, ‘in, with, by’: the metaphor is vigorous, and the surrounding, agitating element is not lost sight of. We may

¹ [From the Classical Review, vol. VII (1893), p. 248].

compare in conclusion Plat. *Legg.* 923 B καὶ οὕτω τοιούτων ἐχόντων, οὐκ, εἰάν τις ὑμᾶς θωπεύαις ὑποδραμῶν ἐν νόσοις ἢ γήρα σαλεύοντας, κτέ.

NOTES ON SOPHOCLES'S *OEDIPUS TYRANNUS*.¹

Vv. 2-5.

τίνας ποθ' ἔδρας τάσδε μοι θοάζετε
 ἱκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι·
 πόλις δ' ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμει,
 ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων;

'Why in the world, pray, are you sitting thus with suppliants' branches, while (whereas) the city is filled with incense, is filled with paeans and groans?' πόλις δὲ implies ὑμεῖς μὲν in the first member of the period. That the contrast exists is reasonably certain. But the actions described in the two members are not plainly contrasted, as the sentence now stands. The sitting of a delegation with suppliants' boughs somewhere is not in marked contrast with burning incense or singing paeans somewhere. It is the designation of the person to whom the supplication is addressed on the one hand, the incense-burning and paean-singing on the other, that makes a contrast between the actions. One part of the citizens—a delegation—supplicate the king; the city at large supplicates the gods. 'Why should a few supplicate the *king*, while most look to the *gods* for aid?' is roughly the question in Oedipus's mind. If πόλις δ' is contrasted by implication (as without doubt it is) with <ὑμεῖς μὲν>, and if what has just been said about a second contrast in the sentence is true, then, inasmuch as there is no word referring directly to the gods, but there is one referring directly to the king (μοι), we have, what appears very often elsewhere, a double contrast expressed half by half. The scheme of such contrast in the present passage will be thus:

<ὑμεῖς μὲν> —μοι
 πόλις δὲ— <τοῖς θεοῖς>.

But if this double contrast exists and one part of it is an oblique case of a personal pronoun, such oblique case of a personal pronoun should have the antidiastolic form, not the enclitic. Therefore, τάσδε μοι should give place to τάσδ' ἐμοί. So Brunck read. So the

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. XIII (1899), pp. 339-342.].

Σχόλια Νεώτερα, thus: *τίνες εἰσὶν αἱ καθέδραι αὐται, ἃς κάθησθε χάριν ἐμοῦ*. And again: *ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰκότως εἴρηκεν· δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ ἐκάθηντο*. Bothe should not have objected to Brunck's text (*addenda et emendanda* to Leipsic edition of 1806): 'leg. *τάσδε μοι*: nam *ὀρθοτονονμένη* locus non est. Sic saepius novavit Brunckius, a me non ubique, ut par esset, retusus, quod semel moneo.' The priest answers Oedipus's implication in vs. 31 sqq. Those words are pointless and have nothing to rest on (the priest replies to Oedipus in chiasitic order), unless we read *τάσδ' ἐμοὶ*. (I shall take up the priest's words presently from another point of view.) ἀ in *ἀγώ* has reference to the contrast, the inconsistency, which Oedipus has just noted, of which he now demands the reason in person. Of course, the interrogation extends, as I have indicated by my pointing, through *στεναγμάτων*.

It may be remarked here that modern scholars do not always appreciate the fact that from the ancient Greek point of view both terms of a contrast do not need always to be expressed. Thus, for example, Nauck wrote (*Mél.* iv. p. 216) of Eur. *Hel.* 1047 sq. thus: "Das Schiff, das wir hatten, hat das Meer." Wollte Euripides in dieser Weise mit dem Verbum *ἔχειν* spielen, so konnte er nur sagen *ἦν γὰρ ἡμεῖς πρόσθεν εἴχομεν, τὰ νῦν ἔχει ἡ θάλασσα*. Der überlieferte Ausdruck lehrt dass nicht der Dichter sondern ein Abschreiberversehen verantwortlich zu machen ist für das frostige Wortspiel. Man erwartet *ἦ γὰρ ἤλθομεν θάλασσ' ἔχει*. But in Eur. *Alc.* 339 sq. we find *λόγῳ γὰρ ἦσαν οὐκ ἔργῳ φίλοι | σὺ δ' (as if a οὔτοι μὲν or οὔτοι had gone before) ἀντιδοῦσα τῆς ἐμῆς τὰ φίλτατα | ψυχῆς ἔσωσας*. Still more striking is Hom. *Γ* 164 *οὐ τί μοι αἰτίη ἐσσί, θεοὶ νύ μοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν*, where no σὺ anticipates θεοί.

As I have just spoken of a matter of punctuation, I may add here that in vs. 11 *στέρξαντες* should be followed by , . The question is not direct; therefore, the ; is not required. Besides this, the pointing with; obscures the relation of *ὡς θέλοντος ἂν κτέ.* (vs. 11) to *φράζ'* (vs. 9).

It seems to me, as to others, reasonable to suppose that *στέρξαντες* was once *οὐ στέρξαντες*. I would explain the present state of our text thus: The *οὐ* before *στέρξαντες* was dropped out by some one in copying; then an attempt was made to restore it (by putting it in the margin first?); this succeeded so far that *οὐ* did indeed get back

pastness in *μολών=ὄτ' ἔμολες*. *μολών* is, therefore, not to be construed with *ἄστυ Καδμείων*. But if *ἄστυ Καδμείων* is to be construed with *ἐξέλυσας*, Professor von Herwerden's *σκληρὰς δαιδού, δασμόν ἢ παρέχομεν* in v. 36 seems fairly inevitable.

Lest I may not have been explicit enough about the chiasmus mentioned above and its bearing on *ὅς τ'*, I add a word here. *συμφοραῖς βίον* is commonly misinterpreted. *συμφοραῖς* has its normal sinister sense, and the phrase here='misfortunes, mischances, of life,' with special reference to the plague, which, though a divine visitation, is here regarded especially from the human point of view; *δαιμόνων συναλλαγαῖς* (the *συν-* is supported, as against *ξυν-*, by the parallelism with *συμφοραῖς*) means 'dealings with higher (supernatural) beings,' with reference to the Sphinx. *πρῶτον ἐν δαιμόνων συναλλαγαῖς* is expanded in the form of a relative clause in vv. 35-39; while vv. 40-45 look back to *πρῶτον ἐν συμφοραῖς βίον*.

Chiasmus is a prominent feature of this whole passage. We have a striking little instance of it in v. 42 sq., where *του θεῶν* is followed by *ἀνδρὸς—τον*. The reading *που* spoils this.

Vv. 44-45. 'For it is especially to experienced men that I see even misfortunes <?> of counsels.' What we want where *ζώσας* stands is a substantive that shall be connected as predicate with *ἐν συμφορὰς* and shall have *τῶν βουλευμάτων* depend upon it. The best suggestion that has been made here (to my knowledge) is Mekler's *ρίζας*. (Musgrave, if I am right in thinking some MS. notes on Sophocles in my possession to be his, felt the difficulty in the same way; but his conjectures were less satisfactory. I may have more to say of this at another time.) *ρίζας* with superscribed *οὔσας* (the latter merely to indicate the construction) might have got botched into *ζώσας*. At all events *ρίζας* indicates very well what is wanted here. *ζώσας* is pretty certainly wrong. 'For to the experienced (as you are) necessity is especially the mother of invention' is a sentiment that fits in here very fairly well indeed.

In vs. 47 I would read *ὥς σε νῦν μὲν κτέ*. There is no emphasis of contrast on the *σε*—no special emphasis at all, in fact: therefore, there is no reason why we should accent the word. *νῦν μὲν* demands a contrasted term in the *δὲ*-clause. This is to be found in *ὑστερον*, which does not belong to *πεσόντες*. *πεσόντες* needs no such adjunct. *στάντες τ' ἐς ὀρθὸν καὶ πεσόντες* is contrasted (chiastically) with *ἀσφαλεία* (=ἀσφαλῶς, ὥστε μὴ πεσεῖν) ἀνθρώπῳ in v. 51.

In v. 48 Pal. 40 is again right. *προμηθείας* (a mere carelessness of spelling for *προμηθίας*) is sense; *προθυμίας* hardly.

In v. 55 I propose to read *ξὺν ἀνδράσιν κάλλιον ἢ κενῆς βροτῶν*.¹

In v. 58 should we not construe the final word of the verse, *μοι*, with *προσῆλθε* at the beginning of v. 59, rather than with *γνωτὰ κοῦκ ἄγνωτα* in v. 58?

If vv. 80–I are right as they stand, should we not construe thus: *εἰ γὰρ ἐν τύχῃ γέ τῃ σωτήρι βαίη <οὐτω> λαμπρός, ὥσπερ ὀμματι* ('to the eye') *<λαμπρὸς βαίνει>?* This=*οὐτω λαμπρῶς (=φανερῶς) σωτήριος ἔλθοι, ὥσπερ λαμπρὸς (=φανερὸς) προσέρχεται*. Oedipus knows nothing about any bright expression on Creon's face. He has not even seen him yet—only heard that he is approaching. Nor is the news that Creon brings of a kind to put a smile on a man's face. Nor does the priest in his next words say anything about bright looks: he judges of the character of Creon's news merely from his chaplet (vv. 82–83).

In v. 99 I cannot but think that the reading of the MSS. *τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς ξυμφορᾶς*; is adequately defended by Aristoph. *Av.* 94 *τίς ἢ πτέρωσις*; *τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς τριλοφίας*; In the reply of Creon (v. 100 sq.) *ποιῶ καθαρμῶ*; is answered first; *ὥς τὰδ'* (Hermann's certain and admirable correction of *τόδ'*) *αἶμα χειμάζον πόλιν* answers *τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς ξυμφορᾶς*;

In v. 116 sq. have we really what Sophocles wrote? Should we not rather read thus:

*οὐδ' ἄγγελός τις ὦδε συμπράκτωρ ὁδοῦ
κατῆλθ', ὅτου τις ἐκμαθὼν ἐχρήσατ' ἄν;*

to be construed: *οὐδέ τις συμπράκτωρ ὁδοῦ ἄγγελος ὦδε κατῆλθε, κτέ.?* *θνήσκουσι γάρ* (sc. *οἱ συμπράκτορες ὁδοῦ πάντες*) in v. 118 looks as if *συμπράκτωρ* in v. 116 might have been the subject of the whole sentence.²

In v. 118 *φόβῃ* is to be construed, I think, with *οὐδὲν εἶχ' εἰδὼς φράσαι* in v. 119. The participle *φυγὼν* is then=*ἐπεὶ* (postquam) *ἔφυγεν*. For the emphasis on the participle thus placed cf. what I have said of *μολὼν* in v. 35.

In v. 122 sq. I venture to think that Sophocles may have written *οὐ μᾶς* (not *μῆ*) *ῥώμῃ κτανεῖν νιν, ἀλλὰ σὸν πλήθει χερῶν*.²

It may be questioned whether vv. 141–146 are always (or generally)

¹ [See below, p. 46.]

² [These emendations had already been made independently, *ὦδε* by A. Weidner, and *μᾶς* by Sehrwald, as noted by Prof. Earle in his edition *ad loc.*]

rightly understood. *ὡς πᾶν ἐμοῦ δράσοντος* (cf. v. 10 sq.) belongs in thought to *ἴστασθε*. The suppliants are to go away now in the belief that Oedipus will do all that lies in his power for the relief of his people. The concluding words of Oedipus's speech are the promise referred to by the priest in the words (v. 147 sq.) *τῶνδε χάριν ὧν ὃδ' ἐξαγγέλλεται* (= *ὑπισχνέται*: I fail to see why commentators drag in 'of his own accord' in their interpretations). 'For we (*i.e.* I) will succeed—please God—or fall in the attempt' is what Oedipus means by his words. The words *σὺν τῷ θεῷ* need not refer to Apollo—in fact, they probably do not. At all events *φανούμεθα* here has the proper force of the future: it is an expression of intention.

Are v. 421 sq. perhaps to be written :

*ὅταν καταίσθῃ γ' ὃν ὑμέναιον ἐν δόμοις
ἀγορμον εἰσέπλευσας εὐπλοίας τυχών ?*

It is interesting to observe that G. Wolff's conjecture *αῖ* for *οῖ* in v. 430 is supported by the newly-discovered Oxyrhynchus fragment, in which *αῖ* stands in the text with: *ου*: written above by the second hand. The balance of opinion ought now, it seems to me, to turn in favor of *αῖ*, as against the feebler *οῖ*.

In v. 1369 sq., the MSS. make Oedipus say to the Coryphaeus:

*ὥς μὲν τάδ' οὐχ ὧδ' ἔστ' ἄριστ' εἰργασμένα,
μή μ' ἐκδίδασκε, μηδὲ συμβούλευ' ἔτι.*

But the Coryphaeus had said (v. 1367) :

οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως σε φῶ βεβουλεύσθαι καλῶς.

It thus seems that Sophocles wrote in v. 1369 not *εἰργασμένα* but *ἐγνωσμένα*. It may be noted that *ἐγνωσμένα* and *εἰργασμένα* are confused in Eur. *Med.* 779—at least [the reading of the MSS. varies between *ἐγνωσμένα* and *εἰργασμένα*. In the present passage the corruption of *ἐγνωσμένα* to *εἰργασμένα* may be due—wholly or in part—to the occurrence of *εἰργασμένα* at the end of v. 1374.

SOPHOCLE, OEDIPE-ROI v. 10-11.¹

J'ai lu avec beaucoup d'intérêt l'article que M. L. Parmentier a consacré dans cette Revue (xxvi, 349-53) aux vers 10-11 de l'Oedipe-Roi de Sophocle, mais je regrette de n'être pas d'accord sur un plus

¹ [From *Revue de Philologie*, Vol. XXVII (1903), pp. 151 sq.]

grand nombre de points avec le savant auteur d' *Euripide et Anaxagore*. Je ne suis en effet de son avis que sur deux points : il a très justement marqué les raisons de l'étonnement d'Oedipe¹ et noté, à la fin de son article,² le souci chez le poète de présenter Oedipe sous son jour le plus favorable. Encore dois-je ajouter que M. Parmentier ne me semble pas avoir découvert tout ce qu'il y a d'étonnant dans la supplication adressée à Oedipe. Il dit que le *μοι* au vers 2 'à l'accent,' chose qui ne me semble pas possible si on retient la forme enclitique du pronom. Il a raison quand il demande ici un pronom emphatique, mais il faut que nous écrivions avec Brunk *τάσδ' ἐμοὶ θαύζετε*, ce que j'ai fait et dans la *Classical Review*, xiii (1899), 339,³ et dans ma petite édition de l'Oedipe-Roi (New York, American Book Company, 1901). M. Parmentier cite M. Ewald Bruhn, comme le dernier éditeur de l'Oedipe-Roi. Mon édition ne semble donc pas lui être connue et il m'excusera si j'en fais souvent mention dans ce qui suit. Je passe maintenant aux points où je ne suis plus d'accord avec M. Parmentier.

Il commence son article en disant que 'le peuple est prosterné en suppliant devant le palais.' C'est, au contraire, non pas le peuple, mais une délégation spéciale se composant de quelques jeunes gens (Moritz Schmidt a pensé, comme moi, qu'ils étaient au nombre de quatorze : vois mon édition p. 137) sous la direction d'un vieux prêtre. M. Parmentier a négligé, comme la plupart des éditeurs du texte, le contraste entre la cité (*πόλις*, v. 4) et cette délégation, contraste que je juge très important et que j'ai tâché de mettre en lumière dans la *Classical Review* (l. c.) et dans mon édition *ad loc.* C'est justement la singularité de l'attitude de cette délégation en opposition à l'attitude de la plupart des citoyens—le fait qu'en même temps que le reste de la cité se prosterne devant les dieux ce petit groupe de suppliants s'adresse au roi comme s'il était un dieu—qui frappe l'attention d'Oedipe et semble le remplir d'étonnement. C'est seulement aux jeunes gens qu'il adresse les mots *ὦ τέκνα*. Il ne s'adresse au prêtre que comme à un interprète qui doit porter la parole (*ἐπεὶ πρέπων ἔφυσ | πρὸ τῶνδε φωνεῖν*, v. 9 sq.) ; et c'est parce que le prêtre ne fait sa réponse au roi qu'en qualité d'interprète qu'

¹ P. 349.

² P. 353.

³ [See p. 38.]

Oedipe s'adresse directement aux jeunes gens au vers 58 (ὦ παῖδες οἰκτροί). Si nous regardons les mots d'Oedipe à ce point de vue son soi-disant sentiment paternel envers les citoyens de Thèbes s'évanouit—au moins en cet endroit. Malheureusement c'est sur les preuves de ce sentiment, que M. Parmentier croit trouver ici dans les paroles d'Oedipe, que se fonde en grande partie son interprétation du mot *στέρξαντες* au vers 11. Je n'ai rien à reprendre à ce qu'il dit de la signification de *στέργειν* en général. Quant à l'endroit cité de l'Oedipe à Colone, je pense que même M. Parmentier ne le trouverait pas d'une si grande importance, s'il eût mieux saisi le sens des mots d'Oedipe dans l'Oedipe-Roi. J'en viens donc à mon tour à ces trois mots du vers 11 : *δείσαντες ἢ στέρξαντες*.

M. Parmentier n'a pas discuté la transposition que l'on a depuis longtemps proposé de l' *οὐ*, qui se trouve très mal placé au vers 13, au vers 11 entre *ἢ* et *στέρξαντες*. J'ai tâché d'expliquer aux endroits déjà cités la raison de cette transposition, à laquelle je tiens toujours. Je remarque ici en passant que M. Parmentier met un point d'interrogation après *πάν* au lieu d'après *στέρξαντες*. Il dit que 'les éditeurs mettent le point d'interrogation après *στέρξαντες*.' Dans mon édition j'ai retranché absolument le point d'interrogation. Je ne m'explique pas comment les éditeurs se sont persuadés que l'interrogation indirecte dépendant de *φράζ'* doive être considérée comme une interrogation directe.

En rejetant l'explication qu'offre M. Parmentier de *δείσαντες ἢ στέρξαντες* et en maintenant la transposition de la négation : *δείσαντες ἢ οὐ στέρξαντες*, j'ajoute à ce que j'ai écrit dans mon édition ce fait important, que c'est précisément en *οὐ στέρξαντες* que les suppliants se trouvent devant le roi. Les vers 47-57, à la fin du discours du prêtre au nom de la délégation, contiennent même trois fois des exhortations, sinon des menaces couvertes. Le prêtre, avec respect et finesse, mais aussi avec assez de clarté, signifie que le peuple s'impacientera contre le roi si ce dernier ne trouve pas des moyens de lui en aide. Voilà une chose bien importante, j'ose penser, pour l'interprétation de ce drame.

J'ajoute que M. Parmentier ne me semble pas bien comprendre les mots *ὥς θελοντος ἂν*. Il ne faut, à mon idée, que se rappeler la forme de l'oratio recta, *θέλωμι ἂν*, qui veut dire 'je voudrais bien,' velim.

SOPHOCLES, *OEDIPUS TYRANNUS* 54 sq.¹

ὥς εἴπερ ἄρξεις τῇσδε γῆς, ὥσπερ κρατεῖς,
 ξὺν ἀνδράσιν κάλλιον ἢ κενῆς κρατεῖν.

Apart from Blaydes's ἡσπερ for ὥσπερ, a conjecture that a careful reading of the passage with proper regard to the contrast between intention of future action (ἄρξεις=τοῦ λοιποῦ ἄρξεις) and present action (κρατεῖς=τὰ νῦν κρατεῖς) seems certainly to reject, editors have been content to let these verses stand in the form presented above. But I cannot help feeling that Sophocles did not write them quite so. For in v. 55 we should expect either ἄρχειν instead of κρατεῖν if the notion of ruling is to be expressed a third time, or else that the notion of ruling should be understood, i. e., that there should be no infinitive at all. Furthermore the position of κρατεῖν is suspicious, since it is not required, because of the similar form κρατεῖς just above it. In A (see Campbell's *adnot. crit. ad loc.*) we find κρατεῖς instead of κρατεῖν. May this not be but one step further in a process of corruption that has assimilated a form somewhat similar to κρατεῖς into the form κρατεῖν and then, finally, assimilated κρατεῖν entirely to κρατεῖς? I would suggest βροτῶν, the substitution of which for κρατεῖν at once relieves an awkward redundancy and gives a neat chiasmic arrangement in v. 55.²

¹ [MS. note.—In his edition Professor Earle printed βροτῶν without comment. See p. 42.]

² [Prof. Earle offered a possible defence of κρατεῖν in *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 32 (1901), p. xxviii.—In *Soph. O. T.* 54 sq., the two divisions into protasis and apodosis of the sentence εἴπερ—κρατεῖν were discussed, that which makes the apodosis begin with ξὺν ἀνδράσιν (the prevailing division in modern commentaries) and that which makes the apodosis begin with κάλλιον. For the latter division Wunder seems to be primarily responsible. In favor of this latter division, it was urged that it brings together ὥσπερ κρατεῖς and ξὺν ἀνδράσιν, which belong together; against it was urged that, like the other division, it makes κρατεῖν resume the notion of ἀρξεις when the notion has already been once resumed by κρατεῖς. It was suggested that the right division is after γῆς, and that we should point and interpret thus :

ὥς εἴπερ ἄρξεις τῇσδε γῆς, ὥσπερ κρατεῖς—
 ξὺν ἀνδράσιν—κάλλιον ἢ κενῆς κρατεῖν.

‘For if you really mean to remain lord of this land, the way you do rule it—with men—is better than to rule it empty.’ With this division of the sentence κρατεῖν at the end of v. 55 is perfectly natural.]

NOTE ON SOPHOCLES'S *OEDIPUS COLONEUS* 1036.¹

οὐδὲν σὺ μεμπτόν ἐνθάδ' ὦν ἐρεῖς ἐμοί Tyrrellius recte, quam tamen lectionem non recte interpretatur: dicit enim constructionem esse οὐδὲν ὦν σὺ ἐρεῖς, quod aperte falsum est. Auditur ante illud ἐρεῖς alterum ἐρεῖς ut hunc in modum intellegatur locus: οὐδὲν σὺ μεμπτόν ἐμοί ἐρεῖς, ἐνθάδ' ὦν (pro ὦν ἐνθάδ') ἐρεῖς. Cf. *O.C.* 1580 ubi ante λέξας auditur alterum λέξας quod cum ξυντομωτάτως et τύχοιμι coniungatur. Cf. Xen. *expedit.* *Cyr.* 3, 4, 13, οὓς τε αὐτὸς ἱππέας ἦλθεν ἔχων.

NOTE ON SOPHOCLES, *ANTIGONE* 1117-1120.²

στὰς δ' ὑπὲρ μελάρων φονώσαισιν ἀμφιχανὼν κύκλῳ
 λόγχαις ἐπτάπυλον στόμα
 ἔβα κτέ.

The fact that the army-eagle (for only so can one represent the interlocking of sign and thing signified in this splendid passage) is depicted 'agape with blood-thirsty spears about the seven-gated mouth' seems quite enough to warrant some attempt at emendation. But the simple and handy correction of στόμα to πόλιν (Blaydes) or πόλισμ' (Nauck) does not explain at all how στόμα came into the text. The conflict of ἀμφιχανὼν and στόμα in the vulgate suggests their reconciliation—ἀμφιχανὼν στόμα, 'with mouth agape'; but then we must change ἐπτάπυλον to ἐπταπύλῳ—and this is precisely Semitélos's inevitable and admirable correction. But he has not quite finished the good work; for we observe that in the strophe we have ἐπταπύλῳ near the beginning but not in quite the same place as in the antistrophe. According to the principle so largely followed by the tragedians we might expect exact correspondence in this regard between strophe and antistrophe here. In the strophe ἐπταπύλῳ is evidently in the right place; for it cannot be moved to correspond with ἐπταπύλῳ in the antistrophe without spoiling the verse. But in the antistrophe ἐπταπύλῳ and ἀμφιχανὼν can change places without affecting the metre, and by making them shift their positions we bring together elements that belong together in sense—ἐπταπύλῳ

¹ [MS. note. Cf. *Proceedings of the Am. Phil. Ass.* 29 (1898), p. xlii.]

² [From the *Classical Review*, IX (1895), p. 15.]

κύκλῳ and ἀμφιχανὼν στόμα. We thus see that the corruption of ἑπταπύλῳ to ἐπτάπυλον is due to its false collocation with στόμα, the word κύκλῳ thrown together with ἀμφιχανὼν being, not unnaturally, taken as an adverb repeating ἀμφι—. I would, therefore, read and point thus (the pointing agrees with Professor Jebb's):—

στὰς δ' ὑπὲρ μελάθρων φονώσασιν ἑπταπύλῳ κύκλῳ
λόγχαις ἀμφιχανὼν στόμα,
ἔβα, κτέ.

I would add that the thing signified is obviously the van (στόμα) of the army bristling with spears.

In *Antigone* I it seems not to have been observed by those that suspect (Nauck) or would emend (Wecklein, M. Schmidt) the word κοινόν, that Sophocles had in mind when writing this verse Aesch. *Prom.* 613 ὦ κοινὸν ὠφέλημα | θνητοῖσιν φανείς—the metrical equivalent, syllable for syllable and caesura for caesura, of *Ant.* I.

MISCELLANEA CRITICA.¹

I. The action of Sophocles's *Antigone* begins early in the morning of the day following the battle of the chieftains. The Argive army has fled in the night. [See vv. 100 sqq.] Antigone brings Ismene without the palace [v. 18 sq.] to tell her of the proclamation just [ἀρτίως v. 8] made by Creon. Of this Antigone has been informed privately [v. 9 sq.] and unofficially [ὡς λέγουσι, v. 23; φασιν, v. 27; φασι, v. 31]. After telling Ismene what is reported of the proclamation Antigone continues [vv. 31 sqq.]:

τοιαῦτά φασι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα σοὶ
κάμοι—λέγω γὰρ καμέ—κηρύξαντ' ἔχαι
καὶ δεῦρο νείσθαι τὰτα τοῖσι μὴ εἰδόνιν
σαφῇ προκηρύξαντα κτέ.

The words φασι δεῦρο νείσθαι, taken in connection with Antigone's previous designation of Creon as 'the general' [τὸν στρατηγόν, v. 8; see Professor Humphreys's excellent note], would naturally lead us to suppose that Creon had made his proclamation before the army but was not yet returned to the palace, when he intended to make a second proclamation τοῖς μὴ εἰδόνιν.

With this supposition everything seems to be in accord. It is

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, IX (1895), p. 439.]

therefore somewhat surprising to find Professor Campbell apparently the only supporter of this view of the situation. (See his *Sophocles*, 1², p. 455: "Creon may not have followed far [in the pursuit of the Argives] and may have been recalled by the cares of State, though *he is only returning to the palace when the elders encounter him.*" [The italics are mine.])

Professor Jebb says [on vv. 162-331]: "Creon, the new king, enters from the central door of the palace." So too Professor Semitelos [on vv. 162-331]: 'Εν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὁ χορὸς ἢ μᾶλλον ὁ κορυφαῖος ἀπήγγελλε τοῖς προηγουμένους ἀναπαίστους, ὁ Κρέων ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῆς μέσης τῶν κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν τριῶν θυρῶν ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὸ προσκηνίον κτέ.

But according to what seems a sound interpretation of Sophocles's own words, as quoted above, Creon would have entered from the side, as one coming from the battle-field.

2. In *Ant.* 178¹ the word γὰρ has given several commentators needless trouble. To make the matter clear I will briefly analyze Creon's speech from the beginning. 'The gods have righted the ship of state [vv. 162 sq.], but *I* have summoned *you*, because I know your loyalty to Laius, to Oedipus, and to Eteocles and Poly-nices [vv. 164-169]. Since, then, *they* are dead, the supreme power in the state reverts to *me* by virtue of consanguinity [vv. 170-171].' A less adroit prince than Creon might next have said 'Therefore I expect you to be loyal to *me*.' But Creon continues: 'But it is impossible to know any man's temper till he be tried in office [vv. 175-177].' Then follow the words ἐμοὶ γὰρ κτέ, which, if we are not tied down to the belief that γὰρ always = 'for', we shall naturally render: 'In my eyes then,' etc. So we shall regard ἐγὼ γὰρ in v. 184 as resuming ἐμοὶ γὰρ and shall render 'I then'; and finally we shall regard ἐγὼ in v. 191 as a resumption of the other two ἐγὼ's.' Whether or not we should write in vv. 178 and 184 γ' ἄρ' I will not undertake to decide. But I would call attention to Professor Jebb's very laboured explanation of the two γὰρ's [each = 'for!'] in his commentary, and [as an *exemplum in terrorem*] to M. Tournier's note in his *Appendice Critique*: "Τάρ, loin de marquer l'enchaînement des idées, ne sert qu'à en troubler l'ordre. Il faut écrire ἐμοὶ μὲν." It is

¹ [See notes on Sophocles's *Antigone* (*infra*, p. 69) where Professor Earle begs the reader "to regard the present discussion as in part—but only in part—a palinode" of this article].

a relief to find Mr Blaydes writing [on v. 178]: “ἐμοὶ γὰρ—‘Now to me, to me then,’ etc., in explanation of the preceding sentiment.”

It may be added that the fact that vv. 178-190 are resumed for transition's sake in v. 191 in the form τοιοῖσδ' ἐγὼ νόμοισι τήνδ' αὔξω πόλιν excludes M. Tournier's otherwise plausible θρόνοισιν [for νόμοισιν] in v. 177. We see furthermore, that νόμοι in both places means 'principles of conduct.' This brings us to the pertinent question, what does ἀρχαῖς [v. 178] mean?

We have gathered from v. 191 that vv. 178-190 are an explanation of νόμοισιν in v. 177. We find, furthermore, that v. 192 is contrasted [καὶ νῦν] with v. 191. If we accept the traditional reading in v. 191 [τήνδ' αὔξω πόλιν], which is well supported by Plato [*Laws* 731 A, cited also by Professor Jebb], we must see here not a contrast of *time* [between a future ἀρξέω or ἄξω and νῦν] but a contrast of another sort. There must, then, be a contrast between νόμοισι and something else. That 'something else' is the κήρυγμα implied in κηρύξας ἔχω, and the contrast is, in more general terms between 'principle' and 'conduct,' or 'action.' We may, then, venture to interpret ἀρχαῖς as 'actions of a ruler.' Thus we have a chiasmic arrangement [a] ἀρχαῖς [v. 177]; [b] νόμοισιν [v. 177]; [b] ἐμοὶ γὰρ — ποιούμεθα [vv. 178—190]; [a] καὶ νῦν — πέρι [vv. 192—3], — the last fully explained in the verses that follow. Nor is this at all too subtle for Sophocles.

3. In *Ant.* 580 sq. we read:

φεύγουσι γάρ τοι χοῖ θρασεῖς, ὅταν πέλας
ἦδη τὸν Ἀιδὼν εἰσορῶσι τοῦ βίου.

Professor Humphrey's note on v. 581 is interesting: “βίον depends on πέλας [ὄντα]. Without limiting gen., Eur. Alc. 24 ἦδη δὲ τόνδε θάνατον εἰσορῶ πέλας [visible presence].” The parallelism between the expression in the *Antigone* and that in the *Alcestis* is indeed striking, though Professor Humphreys calls no further attention to it. The “visible presence” of Thanatos seems to be thought of by Sophocles almost as distinctly as by Euripides.

Again in *Ant.* 806 sq. we read:

ὀρᾶτ' ἔμ', ὦ γὰρ πατρίας πολῖται, τὰν νεάταν ὁδὸν
στείχουσιν, νεάτον δὲ φέγγος λεύσσουν ἀελίου,
κοῦμπον αὖθις· ἀλλὰ μὲν ὁ παγκοίτας Ἀιδας ζῶσαν ἄγει

τὰν Ἀχέροντος
ἀκτάν, κτέ.

With these words of the doomed Antigone we may compare those of the dying Alcestis (*Alc.* 259-263), particularly—ἄγει μ' ἄγει μέ τις and πτερωτὸς Ἄιδας with ἀλλά μ' ὁ—ἄγει, and οἶαν ὁδὸν—προσβαίνω with τὰν—στείχουσιν. But we find a still more noticeable parallel to the *Alcestis* in this passage of the *Antigone*. In *Alc.* 205-208 the traditional text is

ὅμως δέ, καίπερ σμικρὸν ἐμπνέουσ' ἔτι,
βλέψαι πρὸς αὐγὰς βούλεται τὰς ἡλίου,
ὥς οὔποτ' αὖθις, ἀλλὰ νῦν πανύστατον,
ἀκτῖνα κύκλον θ' ἡλίου προσόψεται.

Valckenaer and Hermann have condemned vv. 207-8, and I have followed them in my text. But a comparison of the words in the *Antigone* νέατον — κοῦποτ' αὖθις has suggested a somewhat different treatment. The expression in the *Antigone* is noticeable for its ellipsis: after κοῦποτ' αὖθις we must mentally supply ὁψομέναν or the like. Now in the *Alcestis* we shall have the same sort of expression (indeed, almost the same expression), if we simply drop v. 208 and put a full stop at the end of v. 207. We can then the more readily understand the introduction of *Hec.* 412 into the text of the *Alcestis*.

Of course, all this, if sound, is but a further support of the theory of a close relation between the *Alcestis* and the *Antigone*.

4. In *Ant.* 795 sq.,

νικᾷ δ' ἐναργῆς βλεφάρων ἕμερος εὐλέκτρον
νύμφας,

Professor Campbell's sound adherence to the Greek order of words has led him to join νικᾷ and ἐναργῆς ("i.e. ἐναργῆς ἐστι νικῶσα"). But this is not the end of the matter. In *Thuc.* 7, 55.1 we find Γεγεννημένης δέ τῆς νίκης τοῖς Συρακοσίοις λαμπρᾶς ἤδη κτέ. Here the parallel passages cited make it extremely probable that we should accept Classen's λαμπρῶς (Mr Holden, who keeps λαμπρᾶς, cites λαμπρῶς ἐνίκα from *Plut. Sull.* 29,5). At all events νικᾶν λαμπρῶς seems to have been a current expression (cf. *Schol. Ar. Ran.* 73 Dind.) and we need not hesitate to see in the Sophoclean phrase a poetical νικᾷ δὲ λαμπρῶς. Shall we not then read νικᾷ δ' ἐναργῶς?

NOTES ON SOPHOCLES'S *ANTIGONE*.¹

No satisfactory emendation of *ἄτης ἄτερ* in v. 4 has been suggested. It seems hardly likely that any such is forthcoming. Are not those scholars on the right scent after all that maintain the integrity of *ἄτης ἄτερ* and seek the corruption in the negatives? I cannot think that the simple change of *οὐτ'* to *οὐκ* before *ἄτης ἄτερ* satisfies all the conditions of the case; nor would the change of that *οὐτ'* to *οὐδ'* do so without some further change in the sentence. However, I venture to think that *οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτης ἄτερ* is right, so far as it goes; only we need to make the rest of the sentence conform to it. It is to be observed that in *οὐτ' αἰσχρὸν οὐτ' ἀτιμον* in v. 5 we have a positive and a negative term of nearly the same meaning conjoined. Now if in v. 4 we are right in maintaining, as above, the soundness of *ἄτης ἄτερ*, we have in *οὐτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτης ἄτερ* what is practically the same as a positive and a negative term of similar meaning correlated as parts of the same (negative) phrase. If v. 5 is to offer anything that shall at all exactly balance this, we naturally expect after *οὐτ' αἰσχρὸν* something like (as far as the sense goes) *οὐδ' ὀνειδούς ἄτερ* or *οὐδὲ τιμῆς μέτα*. This brings us to what I venture to suggest as possibly the original text here:

*οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτης ἄτερ
οὐτ' αἰσχρὸν οὐδ' ἔντιμον ἔσθ', κτέ.*

I may add here that the reading advocated in v. 3 by Mr Paley and suggested *inter alia* by Mr Blaydes—*<οὐκ ἔσθ' > ὅποιον οὐχὶ νῦν ζῶσαι τελεῖ*—has long seemed to me pretty certainly right.

What I have said in this *Review* (vi. 73)² about v. 24 needs some correction. Two glosses, *χρησθεὶς δικαίῳ καὶ νόμῳ* and *κατὰ χθονός*, have indeed been used to make v. 24 (they were mistaken by some one for a verse accidentally omitted and then added in the margin,

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. XIII (1899), pp. 386–393.]

² [The note referred to ran as follows:

χρησθεὶς δικαίῳ καὶ νόμῳ κατὰ χθονός. This verse, it appears to me, may be justly rejected from the text, and its presence in our MSS. explained as follows. Assume two glosses, one on *σὺν δίκῃ* (v. 23): *χρησθεὶς δικαίῳ καὶ νόμῳ* (the late use of *χρησθεὶς* = *χρησάμενος* is noticed by Jebb *ad loc.*), and one on the brief *ἔκρυψε* (v. 25): *κατὰ χθονός* (we find *κατὰ χθονός* used by the Schol. on v. 65, for *ὑπὸ χθονός* of the text). When these two glosses had been jumbled into the text, by reason of their forming a trimeter, *δικαίῳ* was naturally changed to *δικαίῃ* to force a sense upon the combination. It may be added that the simple *κρύπτειν* (= *θάπτειν*) occurs subsequently v. 285.]

because they happened to scan as a trimeter); but *κατὰ χθονός* was a gloss on *χθονί*, which once stood at the end of v. 25. The word *νεκροῖς* at the end of v. 25 (in its traditional form) is due to a gloss *νεκρόν* on *νέκυν* in v. 25. It is to be noticed that v. 26 is spatially just about the length of the word *νέκυν* longer than v. 25. The position of the gloss *νεκρόν* just after *χθονί* at the end of v. 25 would aid the process of corruption. I subjoin what I conceive to have been approximately the condition of the text of vv. 23-26 with the glosses.

χρησθεῖς δικαίῳ
Ἔτεοκλέα μέν, ὡς λέγουσι, σὺν δίκη καὶ νόμῳ
κατὰ χθονός
ἔκρυψε τοῖς ἔνερθεν ἔντιμον χθονί, νεκρόν
τὸν δ' ἄθλίως θανόντα Πολυνείκους νέκυν.

M. Tournier gives the right text, only he does not rightly explain how the present text arose, but talks of a 'glose *νεκροῖς* à *χθονί*, qui a été l'origine de l'interpolation'. However, it is to M. Tournier's note that I owe indirectly this fuller explanation of the genesis of the present text.

In v. 33 should we not read *ταῦτὰ* in the place of *ταῦτα*?

In v. 38 *εὐγενής* and *ἐσθλῶν κακή* are not properly contrasted terms. Properly contrasted would be *εὐγενής* and *δυσγενής* or *ἐσθλῶν ἐσθλή* (or equivalent) and *ἐσθλῶν κακή*. This brings us to the original form of the verse:

εἴτ' ἐγγενὴς πέφυκας εἴτ' ἐσθλῶν κακή.

The parodos of the *Antigone* is unfortunately considerably mutilated. It seems pretty certain that the anapaests balanced, or rather that the anapaests are practically part of the strophes, as Mr Tyrrell prints them in his *Parnassus Library* text. Vv. 157 and 161 are both defective, as well as v. 112. It is quite possible too that there were several 'strophic rhymes' in vv. 100-162 that do not appear in the present form of the verses. Thus in vv. 136 sq. *βακχεύων ἀνέμων* | *ῥιπαῖς ἐχθίστων ἐπέπνει* may have been the original arrangement of the words in order to balance *ἐκ μέν δὴ πολέμων* | *τῶν νῦν θέσθε λησμοσύναν* (150 sq.). So too the reading of L in v. 157, *ἐλελίζων*, inclines one to suppose that in v. 139 *μέγας Ἄρης στυφελίζων* was the original order of the words. (Of the restoration of v. 117 I have spoken elsewhere: see *Class. Rev.* ix. (1895), p. 15,¹ and *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* xxviii., *Proceedings*, pp. xi.-xiv.²)

¹ [See above, p. 47.]

² [See below a paper on Verbal Correspondence of Antistrophes in Attic Tragedy.]

In v. 320 there are at least two points of interest. First, *δῆλον* is unsatisfactory grammatically. The interlocking of the words—the hyperbatic arrangement—is plain. We have surely the common idiom of *δῆλος* with *εἶναι* and a participle. We shall thus accept the reading *δῆλος* of Aug. b. The gender of the participle *ἐκπεφυκός* is not strange. It is due merely to attraction to the predicate substantive—a common enough phenomenon. We come now to the question what that predicate noun was as Sophocles wrote it. Professor Campbell decided (with Messrs. Blaydes, Jebb and Tyrrell) in favour of *λάλημα*, adding to the citation of Eur. *Androm.* 937: ‘And this word fits more closely to the context of the present passage. “Fie, ’tis too clear you are a born chatterbox.” “Then it is clear that I never did this deed.”’ But this is to use a false interpretation of v. 321 to support a reading in v. 320. For v. 321 means—Reiske’s γ’ for δ’ after *τό* can hardly but be right—‘without having ever done *that* deed at all events.’ Against the idiom of this verse (for which cf. O.C. 651, 848, 924; Plat. *Euthyd.* 283 C, 285 E) Professor Tyrrell’s conjectural reading *οὔκουν τό δ’ ἔργον τοῦδ’ ὁ ποιήσας ποτέ* sins quite as much as Professor Campbell’s translation. Is there then not good reason for accepting as the Sophoclean form of these two verses (320 sq) this?—

—οἷμ’ ὥς ἄλημα δῆλος ἐκπεφυκός εἶ.

—οὐκ οὖν τό γ’ ἔργον τοῦτο ποιήσας ποτέ.

(CREON. What a born knave you are!

GUARD. Without having ever done *that* deed at all events.)

That from Creon’s point of view *ἄλημα* connotes sophisticated cunning, from the Guard’s criminality, is not against this interpretation. (See Xenophon on *ὑβρις* in *Anab.* 5. 8, 3.)

It may be added that in Eur. *Androm.* 937, quoted by Professor Campbell, there is good reason in the sequence of ideas to regard the verse as made up of two expressions closely related in meaning and to read:—

σοφῶν πανούργων, ποικίλων ἀλημάτων.

The scholiast on the passage in the *Antigone*, it may be added, interprets *ἄλημα* (as he read) by *πανούργος*.

The first antistrophe (342-352) of the splendid *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* chorus contains a famous crux. I venture to think that the combined

acumen of Hermann and Semitélos has restored the original form of vv. 349-352, though it seems not to be commonly so thought. I hazard a short discussion of this famous passage. To do it justice we must consider the first antistrophe as a whole. This antistrophe, like the strophe, falls into two portions closely related to each other but clearly distinguished. The division falls at the same place in each. As in the strophe vv. 332-337 (πολλὰ—οἷδμασιν), or, excluding the introductory words πολλὰ—πέλει, vv. 334-337 (τοῦτο—οἷδμασιν), deal with man's commerce with the sea; vv. 338-342 (θεῶν τε—πολεῖον), with his commerce with the land: so in the antistrophe vv. 343-348 (κουφονόων τε—ἀνῆρ) deal with the capture of birds, beasts and fishes (I note that Professor Tyrrell's ἀγρεῖ is probably right); vv. 349-353 (κρατεῖ δὲ—ταῦρον) with the taming of beasts (see the schol. and Semitélos on v. 349). περὶ ὧν ὑπ' οἷδμασιν is answered by περὶ φραδῆς ἀνῆρ and ἔπειτα γένει πολεῖον by οὐρ ἐιόντ' ἄδμητα ταῦρον. (My reason for preferring the reading πολεῖον to πολεῖων is thus plain; of ἄδμητα as opposed to ἀκμήτα I shall speak presently.) Now if, in the second half of the antistrophe, the part that deals with the taming of beasts, we keep the traditional text, we shall have the words κρατεῖ—ὄρεσσιβάτα explained by λασιαύχενά θ'—ταῦρον. But ἵππον and ταῦρον are evidently but species of the genus ἀγραίλου θηρὸς ὄρεσσιβάτα, and we should, therefore, expect the substantives expressing the two species to be in apposition with the substantive expressing the genus, not the sentence containing the names of the species to be in apposition with the sentence containing the name of the genus. Professor Semitélos has escaped the difficulty (rightly, I think) by writing

κρατεῖ δὲ μηχαναῖς ἀγραίλους
θήρας ὄρεσσιβάτας,

But this correction is reciprocally related to the correction of v. 351 sq. Here Hermann, accepting the reading ἔξεται as containing merely an error due to pronunciation (I presume), proposed to read ἵππιον (for ἵππον, in order to get _ _) ἔξέτε' ἀμφὶ λόφον ζυγοῖ. Hermann's defence of ἔξέτε' seems to me pretty satisfactory, and it is accepted by Professor Semitélos; but ἵππιον will hardly stand. Here Professor Semitélos again comes to the rescue and finishes his good work by the neat supplement ὃν after ἵππον. Thus we read our appositives

λασιαύχενά θ'

ἵππον, < ὄν > ἐξέτε' ἀμφὶ λόφον ζυγοῖ,
οὐρεῖόν τ' ἀδμήτα ταῦρον.

Professor Semitélos does not indeed accept ἀδμήτα; but it seems to me that after κρατεῖ μηχαναῖς and ζυγοῖ he should have preferred a word that meant 'untamed', 'unbroken', to one that meant merely 'unwearied', 'strong'.

Professor Blass's discussion of the πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ chorus in Fleck-eisen's *Jahrbücher* for 1897 (pp. 477-480, *Zu Sophokles' Antigone und Platons Protagoras*) is worthy of attention, though it does its eminent author no great credit. I venture briefly to criticise it here.

Professor Blass sets out to show that the word παρείρων in the second antistrophe (v. 368) is sound. To do so he begins at the beginning of the second antistrophe (σοφόν τι τὸ μηχανόειν κτέ.) The first sentence of his argument seems to call for some comment: 'der vers τοτὲ μὲν usw. ist, wie Sauppe zu Plat. Prot. 344^a anmerkt, dem dort citierten verse eines unbekannten dichters nachgebildet: αὐτὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τοτὲ μὲν κακός, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλός.' It might appear from Professor Blass's language as though he thought that Sauppe had been the first to point out this connection. But in the Erfurdt-Hermann edition of the *Antigone* of 1830, of which I have used not only my own copy but one that bears on the fly-leaf Sauppe's signature as 'studios. Philol. Lips. 1830', the note on v. 364 contains the addition by Erfurdt: 'Poetae obversatus videtur Theognidis locus, quem laudant Xenophon. Mem. I. 2, 20. et Plato Protag. p. 589. Heind.' To this Hermann adds: 'Versum, quem dicit Erfurdtius, αὐτὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τοτὲ μὲν κακός, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλός, alius potius quam Theognidis esse, ex Xenophonte colligi potest.' It can hardly be regarded as proof of any internal connection between the *Protagoras* and the *Antigone*, if we find the same 'familiar quotation' in each work in different contexts, especially as this same 'familiar quotation' appears in Xenophon in still another context as a favourite saying of Socrates. The coincidence is such that it proves nothing for Professor Blass.

But he goes on to cite *Prot.* 320 C sqq. in proof of a striking similarity between Sophocles and Protagoras 'oder Platon—man weiss ja nicht, wie viel etwa der Sophist in der schrift περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως hier... von selbst vorgetragen hatte—' in the account of the development of civilisation. τέχνη, he says in effect, is the key-

note of both passages, and in the *Antigone* we are to understand with *παρείρων* the words *εἰς τὴν τέχνην*, the participle having the sense of 'einfügend in, verbindend mit'. One must be forgiven for thinking of Nestor's words of mild surprise in B 80-81. But let us examine this matter of similarity. Surely the difference between the two passages is quite as striking as the similarity. In Plato Epimetheus leaves mankind ἀκόσμητον, so that the theft of fire by Prometheus is necessary in order that man may obtain the ἐντεχνος σοφία; ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἦν, says Protagoras, ἀνευ πυρὸς αὐτὴν κτητὴν τῷ ἢ χρησίμην γενέσθαι. The πολιτικὴ τέχνη was with Zeus, into whose citadel Prometheus was no longer allowed to enter;¹ therefore he could do no more than go into the common workshop of Hephaestus and Athena—evidently in the lower town!—and steal thence for man's behoof τὴν τε ἔμπυρον τέχνην τὴν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. Thus far there is surely no parallel between Plato and Sophocles. But before we pursue our examination of this matter further, I wish to say something about a textual corruption that Professor Blass—with others—has tried to get rid of. The words διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένειαν in *Prot.* 322 A cannot be right. Whether Professor Blass's συντεχνίαν for συγγένειαν helps matters, may fairly be doubted. Some time ago I hazarded a correction in the *Classical Review* (vii. p. 11),² viz. διὰ τοῦτο, and tried to suggest the motive of the corruption. In regard to the motive I have nothing to add here; but I venture to suggest what is perhaps a better conjecture of the original form of the words, viz. δι' αὐτὴν (i.e. διὰ τὴν θεῖαν μοῖραν). If this conjecture really reproduces the manus Platonica, the passage has been corrupted either by a gloss (as I have suggested) or by a fancied correction (by supplement) after the loss of Υ.

To return to the parallelism, we find that in Protagoras-Plato man, gifted with the 'fire-skill' and thus in possession of a part of

¹ Why, we are not told. Is there here a trace of the tale of the Lost Paradise? and have the Διὸς φυλακαὶ (321 D) anything to do with Genesis 3, 24?

² [The note referred to ran as follows :

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θέλας μετέσχε μοίρας, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένειαν ζῶν μόνον θεοὺς ἐνόμισε κτέ. The words διὰ τὴν τοῦ θ. συγγέν. are nonsense in this context: nothing is said anywhere about *kinsship* with the gods. The text seems to have had originally πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ζῶν μόνον κτέ., in which τοῦτο = τὸ θέλας μετασχεῖν μοίρας. The reading of BT, as quoted above, is the result of a thoughtless gloss on τοῦτο.]

what belongs to the gods,¹ first invented a religion, then began to speak, to prepare and procure houses and furniture, to cultivate husbandry. But since men had not πολιτικὴ τέχνη, they dwelt separate and were soon almost destroyed by wild beasts, against which they could not wage war, because the πολεμικὴ τέχνη is a part of the lacking πολιτικὴ τέχνη. Thus men began to congregate and seek to protect themselves by building cities. But they trespassed against one another, because they had not the πολιτικὴ τέχνη, and were soon again scattered. Poor humanity is at length rescued from its plight by Zeus's gift of αἰδώς and δίκη, in which every man must have his share.

But what has all this to do with the chorus in the *Antigone*? There are many wonderful things, says the poet, but none more wonderful than man. He devotes himself to perilous navigation (is master of the sea). He wearies by ploughing the great goddess Earth (is master of the land). He catches in nets the nimble-witted birds, the wild beasts, the fishes in the sea. He tames the horse and the bull. He taught himself (and here in the second strophe we come for the first time on something the least bit like chronological development²)—he taught himself speech, thought, liking to live in towns, building of houses. All resources has he in himself; nothing future, save death, will he encounter helpless; even remedies for overwhelming diseases has he devised. With all this wonderful capability man turns sometimes to evil, sometimes to good, in the latter case loyal to the laws and to his oath,³ standing thus high in the state: a man without a country is he whose boldness makes that which is not beautiful—evil—to dwell with him (i. e., as the chiasmus shows, he that ἐπὶ κακὸν ἔρπει): may none that does such things (that τὰ μὴ καλὰ ἔρδει τόλμας χάριν) be either neighbour or fellow-partisan of mine.

¹ We find here, as Professor Blass remarks, in Protagoras's tale a very clumsy attempt at connecting primitive art and primitive worship.

² If we seek to see chronological development earlier in this passage, we shall find man ploughing with the ἵππειον γένος before he has tamed the ἵππος.

³ What Sophocles wrote where παρέρων stands may not be absolutely certain, but I believe that Professor Jebb is right in thinking that Reiske's γεραίρων is it. The word πληρῶν in the scholion to v. 368 cannot well be a corruption of παρέρων. But παρέρων in the text might come from γεραίρων, or from πληρῶν unclearly written as a gloss on γεραίρων. At all events the righteous man is intended to be described as νόμιμος καὶ ἐνορκος. Professor Blass seems to have misunderstood θεῶν ἐνορκον δίκαν = θεῶν ὀρκους. (With παρέρων for γεραίρων, cf. παρόντα for γέροντα, O. T. 971.)

Where the 'enge berührung zwischen dem Protagoras und der Antigone' is to be found in the passages compared, I for one cannot discern. A connection between Protagoras's *μῦθος* and the Orphic poem quoted by Sextus Empiricus (see Professor Blass's article, p. 478) is more probable perhaps but is not proved.¹

A marked difference between Protagoras's tale and the chorus in the *Antigone* consists in this, that in Sophocles the independent activity of man is dwelt upon; nothing is said of supernatural interference. This Professor Blass ignores.

Professor Blass's attempt to smuggle the word *τέχνη* into the first antistrophe of the chorus in the *Antigone*,² in order to make it the subject of the second strophe, should be considered a lamentable failure. Albeit *ἐδιδάξατο* seems to be found only here in the sense of 'taught himself', yet that is justified, as Matthiae saw,³ by the circumstances of the case. Man 'invented', or, more forcibly, he 'taught himself'. *ἤνρητο* would come nearest, perhaps, to *ἐδιδάξατο* here, but would not nearly so well express Sophocles's meaning. *ἐνυμπέφρασται* = 'has devised', seems still more easily justified. Indeed, is either of these words more surprising than *αὐτοφώρων* = 'which he caught himself perpetrating' (*Ant.* 51)? and has not Sophocles—in the spirit of the higher Greek poetry—oftentimes strained a word or phrase—enriched its connotation at the expense of its denotation?

It would thus appear that Professor Blass's <πόρ> after *πάγων* is an infelicitous, as well as needless, conjecture. What Sophocles wrote here cannot, perhaps, be said with certainty. One may content himself with <ῥπ> *αἰδρεια* (or <ῥπ> *αἰδρια*) as possibly right. (Palaeographically better is the *δαίθρεια* of the Campbell and Abbott edition.)

Though a connexion cannot be made out between Protagoras's myth and *Ant.* 332-375, yet it is possible that the passage in the

¹ The *μῦθος* as Protagoras relates it has, as Professor Blass notes, no strict logical sequence. In this Plato may have wished to parody his sophist's naïveté. Whether this be so or not, the story is certainly naïve. If an 'Orphic' poem underlies the *μῦθος*, it in turn will have been based on a primitive legend.

² By reading *ἵππον ἔχει τέχνη ἀμφιλοφον ζυγόν*.

³ *Gr. Gramm.* 496, 8 *ad fin.* ('Media statt der Passiva'), 'Soph. *Ant.* 354 καὶ φθέγμα—ἐδιδάξατο, wo nach dem gewöhnlichen Sprachgebrauch ἐδιδάχθη stehen sollte. Aber ἐδιδάχθη heisst, er lernte von andern passive, ἐδιδάξατο, er lernte durch eigne Thätigkeit'.

Protagoras where the quotation from the old poet occurs may have something to do with that chorus. In the chorus in the *Antigone* near the end of the second strophe stand the words νόσων ἀμηχάνων in the sense of 'overwhelming diseases'; near the beginning of the second antistrophe stands the reminiscence of the old poet. In *Prot.* 344 C we find the words ὃν ἂν ἀμήχανος συμφορὰ καθέλῃ quoted from Simonides and followed by an exposition of the term ἀμήχανος = ἀμήχανον ποιῶν, 'overwhelming', as there used. Three classes of εὐμήχανοι are cited as rendered ἀμήχανοι by ἀμήχανοι συμφοραί,—the skipper, the farmer, the physician. 'For the good can become bad as well, as is witnessed by another poet, who said: αὐτὰρ—ἔσθλός.' If this is more than mere coincidence, Plato may in writing the passage just quoted above have had the chorus of the *Antigone* in mind. But this is a mere possibility.

A feature of *Ant.* 332-375 that has an important bearing on the interpretation of that passage both in whole and in part is the duality that runs through it, of which I have already cited a striking instance. But not only have we seamanship and husbandry, capture of the lower animals and taming of the lower animals coupled (vv. 335-353); we find speech and thought, town-inhabiting temper and building of houses, frost and rain, resourcefulness and resourcelessness, escape from death and escape from disease (vv. 354-364), evil and good, law and oath, civic dignity and civic disgrace, neighbour and partisan (vv. 365-375). The clear perception of this pairing of ideas in vv. 354-375 shows one that φρόνημα is sound, that ἀστυνόμους ὄργας is also sound and has the simple meaning given above, and that φεύξιν is probably sound. Professor Semitélos changes φρόνημα, ὄργας and φεύξιν. παρῆστιος seems pretty clearly = πάροιχος, 'neighbour', and ἵσον φρονῶν = συστασιώτης. Local and political proximity are thus coupled.

Vv. 450-452¹ Creon dismisses the guard (vv. 444 sq.) and turns to Antigone with the words σὺ δ' εἰπέ μοι—μή μῆκος, ἀλλὰ συντόμως— | ἤδησθα κηρυχθέντα μὴ ποιεῖν τάδε; (Here Cobet's ἤδησθα is certainly right. But the explanation given by Messrs. Wolff-Bellerman, Jebb and Humphreys of the construction of κηρυχθέντα I venture to think wrong. κηρυχθέντα μὴ ποιεῖν = ἀπορρηθέντα κηρύγματι. The participle is

¹ The following note was read before the American Philological Association at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., 6 July, 1898.

not impersonal but agrees with τάδε.) Antigone answers: ἤδη· τί δ' οὐκ ἔμελλον; ἐμφανῇ γὰρ ἦν (sc. κηρυχθέντα μὴ ποιεῖν τάδε). Then Creon: καὶ δῆτ' ἐτόλμας τοῖσδ' ὑπερβαίνειν νόμους; Antigone: οὐ γάρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε | οὐδ' ἡ ξύναικος τῶν κάτω θεῶν Δίκη, | οἱ τοῖσδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὤρισαν νόμους· | οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον ὥμην. τὰ σὰ | κηρύγμαθ' ὥστ' ἄγραπτα (possibly ὡς τᾶγραπτα with Brunck and Aug. b) κάσφαλῇ θεῶν | νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητὸν ὄνθ' ὑπερβαλεῖν· κτέ. If we construe Antigone's answer as is customary, we begin: 'Yes; for from my point of view it was not at all Zeus that proclaimed this.' The next verse would then naturally mean 'nor was it that Justice that dwells with the nether gods'. But the next verse would then mean 'who (referring to Zeus and Δίκη) defined these laws for mankind'. τοῖσδε νόμους here ought to mean the same thing as τοῖσδε νόμους in v. 449. But this is absurd—at least it is generally so considered. Prof. Campbell does not find it so. He annotates: 'The iteration of τοῖσδε, in contrasting the law which she obeyed with the edict of Creon, is dramatically appropriate, and there is no difficulty in the vague use of the demonstrative.' Similarly Wolff-Bellermann: 'τοῖσδε νόμους mit deutlicher scharfer Beziehung auf Kreon's Worte 449.' In their Critical Appendix (5th ed.) we read further: 'Durch Valckenaers fast allgemein aufgenommene Konjekture τοιούσδ' ἐν—ὤρισε νόμους wird die beabsichtigte Zurückbeziehung auf τοῖσδε νόμους 449 zerstört.' I must agree with the majority that the traditional text is indefensible here on account of the preceding τοῖσδε νόμους and that Prof. Campbell and Messrs Wolff and Bellermann are wrong. But before dealing directly with Valckenaer's generally received conjecture I wish to return to v. 450 and to ask whether it is necessary to make Ζεὺς the subject of ἦν. As I read the verse, and as it seems to me almost, if not quite, necessary to read it, Ζεὺς cannot be taken as subject of ἦν, but must be predicate. My feeling for Greek certainly imperatively demands this. Let us see what this leads to. 'Yes; for not at all in my eyes was the proclaimer of these things Zeus, nor (was he) that Justice that dwells with the nether gods, who (Zeus and Justice)',—did what? Not 'defined *these* laws among mankind', but 'defined *the* laws among mankind': not τοῖσδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὤρισαν νόμους, but τοὺς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὤρισαν νόμους. Some scribe under the influence of τοῖσδ' ὑπερβαίνειν νόμους (449) made the natural blunder τοῖσδ' for τοὺς here. This is substantially the course

of interpretation and reasoning by which I arrived at what I believe Sophocles to have written here. But I am not the first to suggest this reading. Erfurdt had already reached the same result somewhat differently. I quote his note from the Erfurdt-Hermann *Antigone* of 1830: 'Vulgo τοῖσδ', quod mihi etiamnum displicet. Quum enim τοῖσδε νόμους non intelligi possit nisi de iis legibus, quarum paullo ante vv. 443, 445 [= 447, 449] mentio facta erat, nominatim de edicto, quo Polynicem sepeliri vetuerat Creon, haud video equidem, qua ratione convenient ista verba cum antecedentibus. Quippe sic dicitur ea lex Deorum niti auctoritate, a quibus constitutam esse Antigona modo negavit. Deinde quae Thebanis data fuerat, quo jure ἐν ἀνθρώποισι condita vocari potest? Itaque non dubito scribendum esse τοῖς, quo admissio οἱ ἐν ἀνθρώποισι νόμοι, ut cum Xenophonte Memor. iv. 4, 19, loquar, sunt οἱ ἐν πάσῃ χώρᾳ κατὰ ταῦτα νομιζόμενοι. Sic πᾶν τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις χρυσίον, in toto orbe terrarum, Xenoph. Ages. 8, 6. Supra v. 193 pro τῶν August. b. et Dresd. a. pari lapsu τῶνδ' exhibent.'¹ That is an admirable statement, so far as it goes. Let us turn now to Valckenaer's famous conjecture.

This rests on two assumptions: (1) That Ζεὺς is the subject of ἦν; (2) That τοῖσδε νόμους in v. 452 must mean the same thing as τοῖσδε νόμους in v. 449. Of these assumptions I believe (1) to be wrong and (2) to be right. I am sorry that the argument against (1) is so intangible. If both assumptions are right (as I deny them to be), then Valckenaer's conjecture τοιούσδ'—ᾧρισεν νόμους rises to the dignity of an emendation. Mr Jebb (no sure guide in such matters) * says it 'is a certainly true correction'. It involves, it may be noted in passing, two changes, that of οἱ τοῖσδ' to τοιούσδ' (to my mind a rather violent change) and that of ᾧρισαν to ᾧρισεν. The scholion ἡ Δίκη, φησί, καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ᾧρισαν ὥστε θάπτεσθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς could be an explanation of Erfurdt's text; it could also be an explanation, as it is generally supposed to be, of the traditional text.

Erfurdt's reading involves an interesting question to which I shall presently refer. But before doing so, I wish to speak of another reading that has been proposed in v. 452. This differs from that

¹ It is worth while more fully to compare the passage in the *Memorabilia* cited by Erfurdt. It is as follows: 'Ἀγράφους δὲ τινὰς οἶσθα, ἔφη, ᾧ Ἰππία, νόμους; Τοὺς γ' ἐν πάσῃ, ἔφη, χώρᾳ κατὰ ταῦτα νομιζόμενους.—The τῶνδ' in v. 193 (which is the reading of L) is due to τῶνδ' immediately above it in v. 192.

of Erfurdt only in a minute detail, viz. in substituting τοὺς γ' for τοῦσδ' This was proposed by Professor Semitélos independently—ἐξ ἐμῆς διορθώσεως, as he expresses it—but had been anticipated by Vauvilliers. Though Professor Semitélos thinks that γ' is not otiose (ἄργον) but περιέχει τινὰ εἰρωνείαν καὶ πικρίαν ἀρμόζουσαν ἐνταῦθα, I fail to see its force. As we have seen, τοὺς in place of τοῦσδ' is easily justified.

The interesting question alluded to above has to do with the reference of the relative οὗ. I have already explained it as referring to Ζεὺς and Δίκη; but it may be said (the objection has already been made by Boeckh and not well answered by Mr Semitélos) that it should be Ζεὺς and ἡ ξύνουκος τῶν κάτω θεῶν Δίκη and that it cannot rightly be said that Zeus and this special phase of Δίκη (discussed by Mr Semitélos in his explanatory notes) defined the laws of mankind. It is not enough to answer with Mr Semitélos that the context shows that Antigone has in mind only burial-laws. That is simply not true, it seems to me. The answer is a simple one, I believe, but quite different, viz. that here, as elsewhere, the relative clause regards the antecedent noun in its most general sense, not in the modified sense that it bears where it stands. This is not an isolated phenomenon. The tendency to gravitate, by a sort of centripetal force, from the specific to the generic, as a sentence lengthens out, may be amply illustrated in Greek and need not be dwelt upon here, nor need we glance at οὗσις. For the simple relative clause I will bring forward a few examples. Others are doubtless to be found. I do not know of any adequate—in fact of any—discussion of the phenomenon. Thus in *Ai.* 463-465 Ajax says πῶς με τλήσεται (Telamon) ποτ' εἰσιδεῖν | γυμνὸν φανέντα τῶν ἀριστείων ἄτερ, | ὧν αὐτοῖς ἔσχε στέφανον εὐκλείας μέγαν; Here τῶν ἀριστείων means specifically the arms of Achilles, ὧν means ἀριστείων generally, as is recognized in the Schneidewin-Nauck note: 'ὧν wird angeschlossen als ob Aias nicht τῶν ἀριστείων, sondern allgemein ἀριστείων gesagt hätte.' In Euripides's *Andromache* Andromache reports that Hermione says of her that she wishes to dwell in Neoptolemus's house in her stead ἐκβαλοῦσα λέκτρα τᾰκείνης (sc. Ἑρμιόνης) βίᾰ, | ἀγὼ τὸ πρόσθεν οὐχ ἐκοῦσ' ἐδεξάμην, | νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπα (vv. 35-37). Here the αῖ in ἀγὼ refers not to λέκτρα τᾰκείνης but to λέκτρα meaning Andromache's relations with Neoptolemus. In Plato *Protag.* 357 E we read ὥστε τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸ

ἡδονῆς ἦττω εἶναι, ἀμαθία ἢ μεγίστη, ἥς (sc. ἀμαθίας in general, not merely ἀμαθίας τῆς μεγίστης) Πρωταγόρας ὅδε φησὶν ἱατρὸς εἶναι κτέ. So Lysias 7, 18 πῶς ἂν οἷός τ' ἢ πάντας πείσαι τοὺς παριόντας ἢ τοὺς γείτονας (my neighbours), οἱ (neighbours in general) οὐ μόνον ἀλλήλων ταῦτ' ἴσασιν ἀ πᾶσιν ὁρᾶν ἔξεστιν, κτέ.: Lys. 32, 24 τὸ ἥμισυ τούτοις ὀρφανοῖς οἷσι λελόγισται, οὗς (orphans in general) ἡ πόλις οὐ μόνον παῖδας ὄντας ἀτελεῖς ἐποίησαν (makes), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπειδὴν δοκιμασθῶσιν ἐναντὶν ἀφῆκεν ἀπασῶν τῶν λειτουργιῶν: Isaeus 1, 13 καὶ τεκμηρίους χρῆσθαι μὴ τοῖς μετ' ὀργῆς πραχθεῖσιν (by Cleonymus), ἐν οἷς (acts of anger in general) ἅπαντες πεφύκαμεν ἀμαρτάνειν, κτέ. I close this discussion with a Latin example (the only one I have at hand) from Justin (8, 2): et externae dominationi, quam (sc. dominationem, *not* externam dominationem) in suis timuerunt, sponte succedunt.

In v. 540 Mr Blaydes has already suggested what I venture to think is the right reading: ἀλλ' ἐν κακοῖσι σοῖσιν οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι. The verse is somewhat like Eur. *Alc.* 318, where I am glad to see that Mr Hayley agrees with me in upholding οὐτ' ἐν τόκοισι σοῖσι θαρσυνεῖ, τέκνον.

Boeckh's support of the assignment of v. 572 to Antigone is a noteworthy instance of the invasion of classical philology by sentimental bad taste. That vv. 574 and 576 should also go to Ismene is reasonably certain. The symmetry of the passage alone seems to demand it. It is possible that the verses between 571 and 575 have been disarranged and should be read in this order (I prefix vv. 569 sq. because v. 570 seems to need a slight correction by punctuation):

KP.	ἀρώσιμοι γὰρ χἀτέρων εἰσὶν γυῖα.	569
IC.	οὔχ' ὥς γ' ἐκείνῳ τῇδ' ἑ τ' ἦν ἡρμοσμένα.	570
KP.	ἄγαν γε λυπεῖς καὶ σὺ καὶ τὸ σὸν λέχος.	573
IC.	ἦ γὰρ στερήσεις τῇσδε τὸν σαυτοῦ γόνον;	574
KP.	κακὰς ἐγὼ γυναικὰς νείεσιν στυγῶ.	571
IC.	ὦ φίλταθ' Αἴμον, ὥς σ' ἀτιμάζει πατήρ.	572
KP.	Ἄιδης ὁ παύσων τούσδε τοὺς γάμους ἔφν.	575

One cannot wonder that a woman of Antigone's temper fairly loathes Ismene. For all that, in this scene Sophocles has given us a masterly characterisation of a certain sort of mawkish sentimentality—a characterisation as true to the life as it is disgusting.

In v. 593 may not ἀρχαῖα τὰ Λαβδακιδῶν (so E) ὁρῶμαι οἷον (balanc-

ing v. 582 εὐδαίμονες οἷσι κακῶν ἄγευστος αἰῶν) be what Sophocles wrote?

In vv. 599 sqq. unless we read <δ> τέτατο θάλος and ἀμῇ κοπῇ the words λόγον τ' ἄνοια καὶ φρενῶν Ἑρινύς would seem fitly to characterize the words of the chorus rather than the conduct of the heroine.

Though it is not my intention to defend here the authenticity of v. 904 sqq., I venture to remark that the verses are not so bad as they have been often said to be. Professor Semitélos has rightly, I venture to think, corrected εἰ τέκνων μήτηρ to εἰ τέκν' ὧν μήτηρ ἔφην, in v. 905. V. 912 seems to have given Aristotle no trouble—if the MSS. are to be trusted. In v. 904 I think it may be fairly asked whether the traditional text would not mean 'and yet it was *I* that honoured you in the eyes of right-thinking people'. If that be so, we should accept, as Mr Blaydes has done, Arndt's καίτοι σέ γ' εἶ ἔτιμησα τοῖς φρονούσιν εἶ 'and yet I certainly (γ') did right in honouring you in the eyes of right-thinking people'. And here I may remark that in *O.T.* 597 the emphasis seems to be in favour of Musgrave's αἰκάλλουσι as against the traditional ἐκκαλοῦσι. (I find that Meineke takes up this point much as I have done in the *Analecta Sophoclea* appended to his edition of the *Oedipus Coloneus*.) 'Now by all am I greeted, now all salute me, now those that want something from you',—if we keep ἐκκαλοῦσι, a word of essentially different meaning from the two others used of Creon and rather contrasted with χρήζουσι, we must, I think, read ἐκκαλλοῦσ' ἔμε; but if we read αἰκάλλουσι we have a third verb of similar meaning with the other two used of Creon and forming a climax with them and, furthermore, not requiring the emphatic form of the pronoun (for which there is no manuscript warrant) in place of με. Aristotle *rhét.* 1371 *a* says καὶ τὸ κολακεύεσθαι καὶ ὁ κόλαξ ἥδύς· φαινόμενος γὰρ θαυμαστῆς καὶ φαινόμενος φίλος ὁ κόλαξ ἐστίν. Does not this defend αἰκάλλουσι from the Greek point of view?

THE OPENING OF SOPHOCLES'S *ANTIGONE*.¹

My conjecture as to the probable original form of v. 4 sq. has already appeared in this *Review* (xiii, 386),² and I still believe it to be right. At the same place I have also expressed my belief in the

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. XVI (1902), pp. 3-5.]

² [See above, p. 52.]

correctness of Paley's treatment of v. 3. In what follows here I wish to deal with some other matters pertaining to the correction and interpretation of this speech of Antigone's.

In the first place I can no longer believe that the words τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου κακῶν in v. 2 are sound. Professor Semitélos was right in objecting, as others had done, to the position of the word Ζεὺς and to the unnatural meaning that must be given to the phrase ἀπ' Οἰδίπου. We find the phrase used in the natural sense and in the same position in the verse *Ant.* 193 (ἀστοῖσι παίδων τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου πέρι). A simple remedy for the words, which has not, however, to my knowledge been applied by anyone, consists in changing τῶν to τοῖς. The collocation and contrast of Ζεὺς and τοῖς ἀπ' Οἰδίπου are excellent, and the κακῶν at the end of the verse would readily lead a careless copier to change τοῖς to τῶν. V. 2 sq. will thus be=ἀρ' οἷσθ' ὅτι Ζεὺς τοῖς ἀπ' Οἰδίπου (=τοῖς Οἰδίπου τέκνοις) κακὰ πάντα νῦν ζῶσαιιν (gen. absol.=ἐν τῷ νῦν ζῆν) τελεῖ (=τελεῖν μέλλει);

Secondly, in v. 6 I cannot believe that οὐκ ὅπωπ' can be what Sophocles wrote. I venture to think that only if the words τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν belonged rather to the antecedent than to the relative clause (and that they do not) could the repeated negative be tolerated. But ὅπωπ' is too little separated from the οὐ after ὅποῖον to justify the resumption of the negation by a second οὐ (οὐκ). That Todt was right in suggesting (*Philologus* 31 [1872], p. 215) εἰσόπωπ' as the original text can, I think, be made still more plausible by a passage in the *Electra*, where Sophocles writes (417 sq.) εἰσιδεῖν πατρός | τοῦ σοῦ τε κἀμοῦ δευτέραν ὁμιλίαν. Here the similarity of the first half of v. 418 to the first half of *Ant.* 6 is at once apparent; and the fact that with the half verse in the *Electra* εἰσιδεῖν is associated is certainly a fair argument to urge in support of Todt's conjecture. I may add that there is, on the other hand, an argument against Morstadt's conjecture (*Beiträge zur Exegese und Kritik der Sophokleischen Tragödien Elektra, Aias, und Antigone*, Schaffhausen, 1864, p. 48) φίλων for κακῶν at the end of vs. 6 in *Electra* 763, where we read μέγιστα πάντων ὧν ὅπωπ' ἐγὼ κάκων. This verse seems clearly reminiscent of *Ant.* 6: the fact that εἰσόπωπ' could not be fitted in makes it invalid as a defence of οὐκ ὅπωπ'.

It has not, I think, been duly noted that the words τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν are emphatic where they stand. That means that the evils—the κακά—of Ismene and Antigone are to be contrasted by the latter

with the evils of somebody else. That somebody else is Polynices : and after the *καὶ νῦν*, in which the *νῦν* is contrasted with the ἤδη implied in *εἰσόπωπ'* (to accept the conjecture, though the sense is here the main point), we should expect, if we had thus far seen what Antigone were driving at—*ποῦ γνώμης εἴη*—, a distinct reference to Polynices, and we should expect the tone of statement, not that of interrogation. The accepting of Reiske's *τοιούτ'* for *τί τοῦτ'* (which correction, I may be permitted to add, had occurred to me a good while ago before I knew that Reiske had also made it¹) preserves that tone of statement. But the accepting of *τοιούτ'* carries us farther. We must read to the end of v. 8 in the tone of statement and then suddenly appears a question, the statement not being completed. What has happened? Antigone has interrupted herself. She wants to be quite sure that she is not telling Ismene something that the latter already knows. (Ἦδη καλῶς in v. 18 is, of course, equivalent to our 'I thought not,' 'I was pretty sure you hadn't,' if my reasoning is sound thus far.) If we look on a little further, we get just what Antigone was going on to say when she interrupted herself to question Ismene; for if in v. 21 we should substitute for *οὐ γὰρ τάφου νῶν* the words *τάφου γὰρ ἡμῶν*, the tale which Antigone tells in v. 21 sqq. could be placed in immediate sequence to vv. 1-8. *ὥς λέγουσι* in v. 23 recalls the *φασὶ* of v. 7. Indeed, I venture to think that Sophocles at first composed the opening of the *Antigone* in the form I have just indicated and then, thanks to a happy *δευτέρα φροντίς*, improved it by inserting vv. 9-20 and changing slightly the beginning of v. 21, which had been at first v. 9.²

Before writing out vv. 1-10 as I think we should read and point them I would note the meaning that must be given to Reiske's—*καὶ Σοφοκλέους κἂν σὺ μὴ θέλῃς—τοιούτ'*, namely *ἀλγεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτης ἄτερ καὶ αἰσχρὸν οὐδ' ἔντιμον*. It may also be added that Hermann Schütz in his *Sophokleische Studien* p. 206 has strongly supported that interpretation of v. 10 which makes *τοὺς φίλους*=*Πολυνείκη* and *τῶν ἐχθρῶν*=

¹ The correction would seem (see Mr Blaydes's *Adversaria*) to have been made also by Naber.

² I may add that it may further be noted as an interesting coincidence and perhaps a confirmation of what I have just written, that vv. 1-8 + vv. 21-30 (omitting, of course, 24 and making the consequent corrections) amount to 17, the same number that Antigone's opening speech and Ismene's answer make up together, as the play now stands. Verses seem to tend markedly to fall into groups of 17 in the *Antigone*.

τῶν Ἀργείων. Furthermore, Professor Gildersleeve has shown that, by a peculiar form of ellipsis (akin perhaps in the case of individual words to such a phrase as ἡ τῆς βασιλείας νόσου ἀκμή=ἡ τῆς τῆς β.ν.ἀ.), the words στείχοντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά may very well be taken as= στείχοντα τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά. But to this interesting matter of style I shall recur. The following is the form I believe vv. 1-10 should have:—

ᾧ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα,
 ἄρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι Ζεὺς τοῖς ἀπ' Οἰδίου κακῶν
 <οὐκ ἔσθ'> ὅποῖον οὐχὶ νῦν ζῶσαι τελεῖ;
 Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτης ἄτερ
 οὐτ' αἰσχροὺς οὐδ' ἐντιμον ἔσθ' ὅποῖον οὐ
 τῶν σῶν τε καμῶν εἰσόπωπ' ἐγὼ κακῶν,
 καὶ νῦν τοιοῦτ' αὖ φασὶ πανδήμῳ πόλει
 κήρυγμα θεῖναι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρτίως—
 ἔχεις τι κάσῃκουσας ἢ σε λανθάνει
 πρὸς τοὺς φίλους στείχοντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά;

Before resuming the discussion of the peculiar form of ellipsis represented in v. 10, I wish to deal with another of Morstadt's conjectures because it can be very prettily and conclusively proved wrong. Morstadt repeats (*l.c.*) his conjecture that vv. 15-17 should be shared by Antigone and Ismene in this way:

ANT. ἐπεὶ δὲ φροῦδός ἐστιν Ἀργείων στρατός
 ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν, οὐδὲν οἶσθ' ὑπέρτερον;
 IC. οὐτ' εὐτυχούσα μάλλον οὐτ' ἀτωμένη.

This involves a change of the traditional text that could be readily accounted for, were there not a very good reason for maintaining that no such change is necessary—to say nothing of the fact that there is no obvious urgent reason for redistributing the traditional text. This good reason is the presence of a very elegant chiasmus,—a figure that has not, I venture to think, been sufficiently attended to in Sophocles—or other Greek stylists. In Ismene's speech as customarily read the arrangement is this: (A) Ἐμοὶ μὲν . . . ἵκετ(ο), (B) ἔξ ὄτου . . . χερί, (B) ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . τῇ νῦν, (A) οὐδὲν οἶδ' . . . ἀτωμένη. Here it should furthermore be observed (1) that ἔξ ὄτου is parallel with ἐπεὶ, (2) that οὐθ' ἡδὺς οὐτ' ἀλγεινός is parallel with οὐτ' εὐτυχούσα οὐτ' ἀτωμένη, and (3) that μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ is parallel with ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν. The case for the defence is thus very plain.

To return now to the ellipsis. Professor J. H. Wright in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xii. pp. 137 sqq., has brought together a number of examples, all of which I cannot accept, of this very interesting phenomenon, which we might call in deference to Sophoclean diction the ἀπλοῦν ἔπος (implying ἀλλὰ διπλοῦν ἔργον). Professor Wright calls it 'euphonic ellipsis.' The matter is worthy of more attention than it has received, albeit such investigations should be pursued with the extremest caution. I venture to think that we can explain in this way a troublesome place in the *Electra*, where (v. 316) we read Ὡς νῦν ἀπόντος ἰστόρει τί σοι φίλον. May we not understand this as for Ὡ.ν.δ. ἰστόρει εἰ τί σοι φίλον and write it (perhaps) Ὡ.ν.δ. ἰστόρεῖ τί σοι φίλον? But sat paginae biberunt atramenti.

NOTES ON SOPHOCLES'S *ANTIGONE*.¹

V. 178 ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὅστις κτέ.

The γὰρ ought to introduce either an argument or an explanation. It does neither. Professor Semitélos, in his too little valued edition of the *Antigone*, has alone shewn where the trouble lies and how it is to be remedied. He restores v. 191 to its pristine seat between vv. 177 and 178, making the necessary changes in vv. 175 and 177. He is at fault in one minor detail, viz., that he does not restore ποίοις instead of οἷοις at the head of v. 191. I feel sure too that a future is demanded instead of αἶξω; and that future can only have been ἄξω, as will appear, if one consider the endings of vv. 191 and 178 and ask himself how v. 191 lost its place. But there are some interesting matters of symmetry in this great speech of Creon's that can be properly appreciated only if the speech be presented in full with certain indications of the divisions of the parts. This I now do, making here and there certain alterations proposed by various scholars which (particularly, besides Professor Semitélos's, that in v. 190) seem to me to be, for various reasons, demanded. I would beg the reader to regard the present discussion as, in part—but only in part—a palinode of what I published on Creon's speech in this *Review*, vol. ix. (1895), 439 sq.²

¹ Presented by title at the meeting of the American Philological Association at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., July, 1902, [and printed in the *Classical Review*, Vol. XVII, (1903) pp. 5-6.]

² [See above, p. 49.]

* Ἄνδρες, τὰ μὲν δὴ πόλεος ἀσφαλῶς θεοί, πολλῷ σάλῳ σείσαντες, ὤρθωσαν πάλιν · ὕμᾱς δ' ἐγὼ πομποῖσιν ἐκ πάντων δίχα ἔστειλ' ἰκέσθαι τοῦτο μὲν τὰ Λαῖου	162 165
σέβοντας εἰδὼς εὖ θρόνων αἰεὶ κράτη, τοῦτ' αἰθῖς, ἥνικ' Οἰδίπους ὤρθου πόλιν κάπῃ διώλετ', ἀμφὶ τοὺς κείνων ἔτι παῖδας μένοντας ἐμπέδους φρονήμασιν ·	169
ὅτ' οὖν ἐκείνοι πρὸς διπλῆς μοίρας μίαν καθ' ἡμέραν ὄλοντο παίσαντές τε καὶ πληγέντες αὐτόχειρι σὺν μιάσματι, ἐγὼ κράτη δὴ πάντα καὶ θρόνους ἔχω, γένους κατ' ἀγχιστεῖα, τοῖν ὀλωλότοι.	170 174
* Ἀμήχανον δὲ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ὃν μαθεῖν ψυχὴν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γνώμην, πρὶν ἂν ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ νόμοισιν ἐντριβῇ, φανῶ ποίοις ἐγὼ νόμοισι τήνδ' ἄξω πόλιν.	175 177 191
* Ἔμοι γὰρ ὅστις, πᾶσαν εὐθύνων πόλιν, μὴ τῶν ἀρίστων ἄπτεται βουλευμάτων ἀλλ' ἐκ φόβου του γλώσσαν ἐγκλήσας ἔχει κάκιστος εἶναι νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι δοκεῖ · καὶ μείζον ὅστις ἀντὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πάτρας φίλον νομίζει, τοῦτον οὐδαμοῦ λέγω · ἐγὼ γὰρ—ἴστω Ζεὺς ὁ πάνθ' ὀρώων αἰεὶ— οὗτ' ἂν σιωπήσαιμι τὴν ἄτην ὀρώων	178 185
στείχουσιν ἀστοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας οὗτ' ἂν φίλον ποτ' ἀνδρα δυσμενῆ χθονὸς θείμην ἐμαντῷ τοῦτο γινώσκων, ὅτι ἦδ' ἐστὶν ἡ σφύζουσα καὶ ταύτης ἔπι πλέοντες ὀρθῆς πλοῦς καλοὺς ποιούμεθα.	190
Καὶ νῦν ἀδελφὰ τῶνδε κηρύξας ἔχω ἀστοῖσι παίδων τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου πέρι.	192 193
* Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν, ὃς πόλεως ὑπερμαχῶν ὄλωλε τῆσδε πάντ' ἀριστεύσας δορί, τάφῳ τε κρύψαι καὶ τὰ πάντ' ἐφαγνίσαι ἅ τοις ἀρίστοις ἔρχεται κάτω νεκροῖς · τὸν δ' αὖ ξύναιμον τοῦδε—Πολυνείκη λέγω—,	194 195

ὃς γῆν πατρίαν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς, φυγὰς κατελθών, ἠθέλησε μὲν πυρὶ	200
πέρσαι κατ' ἄκρας, ἠθέλησε δ' αἷματος κοινοῦ πάσασθαι, τοὺς δὲ δουλώσας ἄγειν— τοῦτον πόλει τῇδ' ἐκκεκρηῦχθαι λέγω μήτε κτερίζειν μήτε κωκυσαί τινα, ἔαν δ' ἄθραπτον καὶ πρὸς οἰωνῶν δέμας	205
καὶ πρὸς κυνῶν ἔδεστὸν αἰκισθέν τ' ἰδεῖν.	206
Τοιόνδ' ἐμὸν φρόνημα, κοῦποτ' ἐκ γ' ἐμοῦ τιμῇ προέξουσ' οἱ κακοὶ τῶν ἐνδίκων, ἀλλ' ὅστις εὖνους τῇδε τῇ πόλει θανῶν— καὶ ζῶν ὁμοίως—ἐξ ἐμοῦ τιμῆσεται.	207
	210

The symmetrical arrangement of these verses is as follows: After a poem of 13 verses (162-174, divided into 8 + 5; cf. the opening speeches of *O.T.* and *O.C.*) come 4 verses (175-177 + 191) that serve at once as transition from the preceding and as introduction to the core of Creon's speech. Then come 13 verses (178-190) about the principles (*νόμοι*) of rulership. These are followed by 2 verses (192 sq.) introductory of the exemplification by acts of the ruler (*ἄρχει*) of the principles of rulership. These acts are set forth in 13 verses (194-206). The conclusion is made in 4 verses (207-210), an epilogue, as it were, balancing the prologue in vv. 175-177 and 191. The scheme is this: 13 (8 + 5) | 4 . 13 . 2 . 13 . 4.

It should, it seems, appear entirely probable that nothing has been lost after v. 168. It is true that we have here a harshness, an illogicalness; for *τοὺς κείνων παῖδας* (168) means Oedipus together with Eteocles and Polynices, whereas *ἐκείνοι* (170) means only Eteocles and Polynices. But the break between v. 169 and v. 170 may, perhaps, be thought to mitigate this hardness of expression.

It may be asked here how v. 191 came to be inserted after v. 190, after its likeness of ending to v. 178 had led to its being dropped out of its original place in the speech. This question can, I think, be answered best by assuming that the archetype of the MSS. of Sophocles had 38 verses to the page or column. For, if we count the verses from the beginning to v. 190, we shall find that the Aristotelian prologue contains (omitting the spurious vs. 24) 97 verses; that the parodus contains, if we count the glyconics sepa-

rately and make the second strophic couplet have, as it should, in a right division of the verses,¹ 8 verses to the strophe, 64 verses; and that we have 29 verses of the first episodion to add. This makes a total of 190, which is $= 38 \times 5$; that is, v. 190 was the last verse of the fifth page in our archetype. My assumption then is that v. 191 was added by the scribe of the archetype or the reviser of the archetype (more probably by the former) at the foot of the fifth page under v. 190 and was, by an error of the writer of the codex next in descent from the archetype, retained between v. 190 and v. 192. Some person or persons botched vv. 175, 177, and 191 into their present form, wholly or partly in order to make them fit the new context better. It may be added here that vv. 495 and 496, which would read better after v. 493, may once have been at the end of p. 13.

Vv. 289-294 seem not to have been well explained. If we read very carefully we shall, I think, see that ταῦτα in v. 289 cannot be the object of ἐρρόθουν. Unless I am mistaken, ταῦτα refers to Poly- nices's burying and is $=$ τὸ τόνδε τὸν νεκρὸν θάψαι or πρόνοιαν ἵσχειν τοῦδε τοῦ νεκροῦ περί (v. 283). If this is so, ταῦτα has no proper construction but is resumed by τάδε in v. 294. ταῦτα would have a construction of its own if v. 293 sq. were something like this: καὶ γινῶσκει (answering to καὶ πάλοι in v. 289) τούτους παρήγαγον μισθοῖσιν ὥστ' ἐργάσασθαι, so that the subject of παρήγαγον should be ἄνδρες μὲν φέροντες ἐμοὶ and ταῦτα the object of ἐργάσασθαι. The passage should I think, be thus pointed:

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα καὶ πάλοι πόλειως
 ἄνδρες μὲν φέροντες ἐρρόθουν ἐμοὶ
 290
 κρυφῇ, κάρα σείοντες οὐδ' ὑπὸ ζυγῷ
 λόφον δικαίως εἶχον ὥς στέργειν ἐμέ—
 ἐκ τῶνδε τούτους ἐξέπισταμαι καλῶς
 παρηγμένους μισθοῖσιν εἰργάσθαι τάδε.

¹ ἀντιτύπα δ' ἐπὶ γὰρ πέσε τανταλωθεὶς
 πυρφόρος δὲ τότε μαινομένη ξὺν ὀρμῇ
 βακχεύων ἐπέπνει ῥιπαῖς
 ἐχθίστων ἀνέμων.
 εἶχε δ' ἄλλα τὰ μέν (corrupt),
 ἀλλὰ δ' ἐπ' ἀλλοῖς ἐπενώμα μέγας Ἀ-
 ρης στυφελίζων
 δεξιόσειρος.—Vv. 134-142.

'No; that (ταῦτα, *i.e.* what you say the gods did—bury Polynices) I know full well that these guards (τούτους) did, seduced by hire by certain of the citizens (πόλεως ἄνδρες) that, vexed at me (μόλις φέροντες ἐμοὶ), had long been muttering in secret (ἐρρόθουν κρυφῇ, clam mussitabant Liv. 33. 31, 1), shaking the head and not holding the neck properly under the yoke (οὐδ' . . . εἶχον=οὐδ' ἔχοντες) so as to accept me (as their ruler).' I admit, of course, that the construction is extremely harsh; but there are many harshnesses in the *Antigone*.

In v. 504 ἀνδάνει, not ἀνδάνειν, is the reading of L. This may perhaps be right; for we may now understand v. 504 sq. thus:

Τούτοις (the chorus) τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἀνδάνει

(this to Creon; then to the chorus with indignation)—

λέγουτ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ γλῶσσαν ἐγκλήοι φόβος.

DE SOPHOCLIS ANTIGONAE VV. 45 ET 46.¹

Verba quae sunt Τόν γ' οὖν ἐμὸν καὶ τὸν σὸν, ἣν σὺ μὴ θέλῃς | ἀδελφόν ab ea una solaque femina dici possunt quae neque cum sorore nec uno de fratre loquatur. Hic murus aeneus esto. Sequitur continuo ut locus sit corruptus; atque per scholia antiqua certiores facti sumus Didymum dixisse a commentatoribus (ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπομνηματιστῶν) versum 46^{um} spurium indicatum esse (γενοθεῖσθαι). At eo deleto versu quo modo intellegi potest versus 45^{us}? Nam nomen substantivum masculini generis subauditur, neque tamen id fratris nomen potest esse. De uno vocabulo τάφον supplendo videtur cogitari posse, quod eodem esset accipiendum sensu atque τοῦ τάφου μέρος, sepulturae partem, ut plena sit sententia τόν γ' οὖν ἐμὸν <τάφον νοῶ θάπτειν σφε>—καὶ τὸν σόν, ἣν σὺ μὴ θέλῃς. Atque sic eos locum interpretari solitos esse qui versum 46^{um} damnarunt, e priore de duabus quae in scholiis antiquis sunt explicationibus apparet, quae explicatio haec est: εἰ μὴ σὺ θέλεις θάπτειν, ἐγὼ τοῦτο ποιήσω μόνη. Dixerit hic quispiam: at inauditum inculcatum id ellipsis genus graecaeque linguae indoli vix congruens. Audio atque inusitatissimam esse talem ellipsim do et concedo—nisi forte *El.* 1075 τὸν αἰὲ pro τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον sanum est. Sed quid facerem? Nam versus 45^{us} per se spectatus optime constructus videtur; neque umquam quisquam homo versum 46^{um} adidisset, nisi τὸν ἐμὸν in versu 45^o legisset. Traditae scripturae ve-

¹ [From *Revue de Philologie* XXVIII (1904), p. 122.]

stigia premere studui, quo facto, si nihil aliud effeci, at clarius quam fieri solet huius loci rationem exposuisse mihi videor.

NOTE ON SOPHOCLES'S *ANTIGONE* 1204 sq.¹

πρὸς λιθόστρωτον κόρης
 νυμφεῖον Ἄιδου [κοῖλον] εἰσεβαίνομεν.

It is inexplicable to me that the traditional reading here seems never to have been disputed. Jebb (with whom Humphreys agrees) says: "κόρης νυμφεῖον—Ἄιδου, the maiden's death-bower: cp. 795 n., 929." (The former of the illustrations is different; the latter, debatable, perhaps glossed.) Schneidewin-Nauck also say: "νυμφεῖον Ἄιδου (654. 816 [only remotely applicable]), Grabesbrautgemach, wozu κόρης tritt, wie 1184 [hardly parallel]. Eur. Herc. 562 Ἄιδου τὰσδε περιβολὰς κόρης [the position of words different]. Vgl. Soph. El. 681 τὸ κλεινὸν Ἑλλάδος πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος" (see below).

A repeated reading of the passage convinces me that I am right in feeling that to a hearer the sense demanded by the order of the words, and also by the fact that νυμφεῖον already has an adjective in λιθόστρωτον, is this: "To the girl's stone-floored bridal-chamber, Hades' (? substantive in app. to νυμφεῖον), we were approaching." If Sophocles wrote κοῖλον he (1) added a superfluous and more than flat epithet to a substantive already well supplied, and (2) gave such epithet a harsh and disturbing position. Either λιθόστρωτον κόρης νυμφεῖον Ἄιδου, or (setting aside the metre) κοῖλον κόρης νυμφεῖον Ἄιδου, would be all very well; and it is precisely such expressions that the parallel passages support—were there need of supporting them: but not the expression in our texts. Of course, one would not expect of Sophocles that he use κοῖλον as a substantive here; but why not (a natural supposition) regard κοῖλον as a gloss which has supplanted the right word? That right word seems to be either κεῦθος (which may be supported by v. 818 ἐς τόδ' ἀπέρχει κεῦθος νεκύων), or γύαλον (which may be supported, perhaps better, by the scholion on L on *Philoctet.* 1081: γύαλον δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ κεῦθος· κυρίως δὲ γύαλα τὰ κοῖλα λέγεταί). I would therefore read:

νυμφεῖον, Ἄιδου (κεῦθος), εἰσεβαίνομεν.

¹ [From the Am. Jour. of Phil. Vol. XIII (1892), p. 483.]

CRITICAL NOTE ON CERTAIN PASSAGES IN SOPHOCLES'S *ANTIGONE*.¹

- Vv. 82 sqq. IC. οἷ μοι ταλαίνης, ὡς ὑπερδέδοικά σου.
 AN. μὴ μοῦ προτάρβει· τὸν σὸν ἐξόρθου πότμον.
 IC. ἀλλ' οὖν προμηνύσης γε τοῦτο μηδενὶ
 τοῦργον, κρυφῇ δέξικεῦθε, σὺν δ' αὖτως ἐγώ.
 AN. οἷ μοι, καταῦδα· πόλλον ἐχθίων ἔση
 σιγῶς, ἔαν μὴ πᾶσι κηρύξης τάδε.

In v. 86 οἷμοι has long seemed to me wrong. Jebb slides over it in his commentary. In his translation he gives "Oh, denounce it!" which may be natural English, but does not adequately represent the Greek. The Schneidewin-Nauck commentary gives nothing; nor is Blaydes's note ("An exclamation here of indignation. Cf. 320.") of much more service. Professor Humphreys offers us at least something more when he annotates οἷμοι thus: "Of disapproval or satisfaction. So even οἷμοι κακοδαίμων, of rage. Ar. Av. 1051. In id. 1260 οἷμοι τάλας may be ironical." But even this is unsatisfactory: the presence of κακοδαίμων and τάλας after οἷμοι in the Aristophanic citations robs them of all appositeness, and we are left no better off than before. Let us confess it frankly. This is a case for emendation, not explanation. Why should we not restore the vigorous and apt μὴ μοι (perhaps better written here μὴ μοι or μὴ ἐμοί)? The source of the corruption is not far to seek, being contained in ΟΙΜΟΙ above. A scribe was quite capable of jumbling the two neighboring passages in such a way as to produce the present state of affairs in the text. In further support of this emendation may be compared vv. 544-7:

- IC. μὴ τοι, κασιγνήτη, μ' ἀτιμάσης τὸ μὴ οὖ
 θανεῖν τε σὺν σοὶ τὸν θανόντα θ' ἀγνίσαι.
 AN. μὴ μοι θάνης σὺ κοινά, μηδ' ἂ μὴ θιγες
 ποιοῦ σεαυτῆς· ἀρκέσω θνήσκουσ' ἐγώ.

Here, though there is no ellipsis, there is yet a striking similarity in the tone of harsh refusal and repulsion.

- Vv. 404 sq. ταύτην γ' ἰδὼν θάπτουσιν ὃν σὺ τὸν νεκρὸν
 ἀπείπας.

¹ [From the Proceedings of the Am. Phil. Ass., Vol. XXIV (1903), p. xxxviii.]

Every one feels the harshness of the position of τὸν νέκρον. The words may be sound, but they look like a gloss. Perhaps they may have taken the place of τοῦτο δρᾶν.

Vv. 417 sq. καὶ τότε' ἐξαίφνης χθονὸς
τυφῶς ἰαείρας σκηπτόν, οὐράνιον ἄχος.

οὐράνιον ἄχος has given trouble for more reasons than one. I would suggest ἄχος οὐρανοῦ as possibly the original form of the words. If ἄχος became ἄχος, transposition and a change from gen. to adj. might follow.

Vv. 478 sq. οὐ γὰρ ἐκπέλει
φρονεῖν μέγ' ὅστις δοῦλός ἐστι τῶν πέλας.

So dubious a word as ἐκπέλει is in more than suspicious company when it stands over πέλας. There has doubtless been contamination between the ends of vv. 478 and 479. Blaydes writes: "Qu. οὐ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει (or πέλει)." The former is nearer what I believe Sophocles wrote; viz., εὐπρεπές. (Cf. *Class. Rev.* VII., p. 344.)¹

Vv. 1001 sq. ἀγνώτ' ἀκούω φθόγγον ὀρνίθων, κακῶ
κλάζοντας οἴστρω καὶ βεβαρβαρωμένῃ.

We read smoothly enough through οἴστρω καὶ; but after the καὶ we get a mental jolt. We are all ready for another attribute to the ὀρνίθας implied in φθόγγον ὀρνίθων, when we have an attribute to οἴστρω suddenly thrust upon us. Here again I feel sure there has been contamination, an original βεβαρβαρωμένους = ἀσαφείς having been assimilated to κακῶ above it. The loci classici for the 'barbarism' of birds (Hdt. 2, 57; Ar. *Av.* 199; Aesch. *Ag.* 1050 sq.) are also in favour of the reading proposed. (In the very similar passage, Eur. *Alc.* 777, we should follow Nauck's suggestion [*Eur. Stud.* II., p. 85], and read σὺν φρυγμένος [ξυν-] for σὺν φρυγμένῃ.)²

NOTE ON SOPHOCLES'S *ANTIGONE*. 427 sq.³

In Sophocles's *Antigone* 427 sq. we read ἐκ δ' ἀρὰς κακὰς | ἡρᾶτο 'and prayed bad prayers', i.e. 'and cursed'. With this we may compare two Homeric phrases: A 284 ἔρκος Ἀχαιοῖσιν πέλεται πολέμοιο κακοῖο 'is a bulwark for the Achaeans against bad war', i.e. 'defeat'; and Γ 173 ὥς ὄφελεν θάνατός μοι ἀδεῖν κακός 'would that bad death had pleased me', 'that it had pleased me to commit suicide'. Mr Leaf seems not to have understood the latter place: see his note.

¹ [See below, note on *Herc. Fur.* 667.]

² [See above, p. 6.]

³ [Ms. note.]

ON TWO PASSAGES OF SOPHOCLES'S *ELECTRA*.¹

I.—153-163.

If we try to construe this passage according to the traditional text, vv. 153-155 can only mean: 'Not to you alone, my child, has a grief come in respect of which you surpass those that are within.' But such a remark does not square with the evident intention of the Chorus nor with the following words. Prof. Kaibel has seen the difficulty and has evaded it. His words should be quoted here. He writes (*ad loc*): 'Hier ist *πρὸς ὅτι* "in Bezug auf welches Leid" (*ἄχος*) freilich etwas prosaisch, *zudem sollte man πρὸς ὃ erwarten*. [The italics are mine.—M. L. E.] Aber die Prosa wird man hinnehmen müssen, und in *ὅτι* scheint die unbestimmte Allgemeinheit des regierenden Satzes nachzuwirken ("alle Menschen haben Leid"); keinesfalls darf man determinative Relativsätze vergleichen, in denen *ὅστις* mit Recht steht (G. Hermann praef. OT p. viii.): der Satz ist selbständig und lautet nicht *πρὸς ὃ τι δικαίως ἂν σὺ περιττὴ εἴης*. Die für den Chor undenkbare Brutalität *πρὸς τί δὲ σὺ τῶν ἔνδον εἶ περισσά*; hätte niemandem einfallen sollen.' I can not but think that it is rather the 'unbestimmte Allgemeinheit' of Prof. Kaibel's theory of Greek relative clauses than that quality in the antecedent clause here that we should recognise. Yet who has thought to question *ὅστις* in Eur. *Med.* 220, a reading that I believe to be demonstrably wrong in the context? The fact is that a simple relative is demanded in v. 155. Such simple relative may be obtained without the change of a single letter by merely setting the proper diacritical marks. That I shall now do, as I think; and besides I will set down the whole context, as I would read it.

Οὗτοι σοὶ μούνα, τέκνον,
 ἄχος ἐφάνη βροτῶν,
 πρὸς ὃ τί σὺ τῶν ἐν γένει περισσά
 οἷς ὁμόθεν εἶ καὶ γονὰ ξύναιμος;
 οἷα Χρυσόθεμις ζῶει καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα
 κρυπτῇ τ' ἄχέων ἐν ἡβῃ—
 ὄλβιος—ὃν ἄ κλεινὰ
 γὰ ποτε Μυκηναίων
 δέξεται εὐπατρίδαν Διὸς εὐφρονη
 βήματι μολόντα τάνδε γᾶν—'Ορέσταν.

¹ [From the Classical Review, Vol. XVI (1902), pp. 5-7.]

To this text I would append a note or two, as follows. τί σὺ περισσὰ (sc. εἰ) means 'in what respect have you more?' The 'grief' or 'sorrow' (ἄχος) as here thought of is potential rather than actual. Electra is no more deeply concerned by right in the family sorrow and shame than her sisters and her brother. There is the same 'Brutalität' in my reading as in the conjectural reading condemned by Professor Kaibel; but I deny that it is 'undenkbar.' ἐν γένει (Blaydes) is pretty clearly demanded by what follows. It is only by an artifice of modern printing that Orestes can be separated from Chrysothemis and Iphianassa. His name is held until the end—to mention nothing else—in such wise that the three are most closely linked together. And he is distinctly not ἐνδον. οἷς... ξύναιμος is an essential and restrictive relative clause closely linked with τῶν ἐν γένει and not to be set off by a comma. It seems not to be well understood. It means ὧν ὁμομητρία εἰ καὶ ὁμοπατρία ἀδελφή. The adv. ὁμόθεν is = ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γαστρος, and γονή is used here in the sense of *semen viri*. ὄλβιος seems most naturally to be taken as an ejaculation, and ἀχέων must be noun and not participle (so Professor Kaibel). The relative clause ὃν... γὰν does duty as a substantive, and Ὁρέσταν is attracted to ὃν. The whole is = Ὁρέστας, ὃν... γὰν. The words κρυπτῇ... ἥβῃ of course belong to ζῶει understood. In view of the strain that Sophocles has put upon the meaning of other words in other places, I hesitate, with Sir R. C. Jebb, to change βήματι, which, and not Διός, seems to demand change, if change is to be made. The proximity of μολόντα might have helped to change νέυματι to βήματι. But the matter is an exceedingly difficult one to decide.

II.—681-687.

The current explanation of Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν (v. 682) joins these with ἐλθὼν (v. 681). To this construction there appears to be a fatal objection, namely that the words τὸ κλεινὸν (or κοινόν) 'Ἑλλάδος πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος, 'the famous (or 'common') assemblage-prominence of Greece' as, it seems, we should literally render, cannot, without an added epithet of some sort, describe the Pythian πανήγυρις. That vv. 681 and 682 are essentially sound as they stand in the Sophoclean MSS. there would appear to be no good reason to doubt. The fact that Sophocles is referring to a πανήγυρις and that the idea of κλεινὸν would be practically repeated in πρόσχημ' seems to favour the read-

ing of Thomas Magister, κοινὸν for κλεινόν, in v. 681; but that may be justly regarded as a minor matter. A construction of the words Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν that I have not met with elsewhere but that seems to me certainly right, makes v. 681 sq. perfectly plain. Join ἐς τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλάδος πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν, understanding the words as though they had been arranged ἐς τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλάδος Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος, which is only a compacter way of saying ἐς τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλάδος πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος τὸ Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν γιγνόμενον=ἐς τὸν Δελφικόν (=Πυθικόν) ἀθλητικὸν ἀγῶνα. The expression πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος (=κλεινὸς ἀγὼν) Δελφικῶν ἄθλων (=certaminum) χάριν is, save for the use of the simpler and commoner χάριν for πρὸς χάριν, essentially the same that we find at *Ant.* 30, where the words θησαυρὸν πρὸς χάριν (=χάριν) βορᾶς should be thus joined (as they are by Sir R. C. Jebb, though he gives an unduly laboured and partly false explanation of πρὸς χάριν) and οἰωνοῖς θησαυρὸν πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς understood as a paraphrase of the Homeric οἰωνοῖσι δαῖτα—which two words were doubtless thus associated in Sophocles's mind as he commonly thought of them, much as we may say and think *otium cum dignitate*, albeit in Cic. *de orat.* 1. 1, 1 *in otio* is linked with *cum dignitate* by the *esse* that follows the later phrase.¹

In v. 683 sq. it looks, if the text be sound, as though Sophocles had blended ἦσθετ' ἀνδρὸς ὀρθίους κηρύγμασιν δρόμον προκηρύξαντος and ἦσθετ' ὀρθίων κηρυγμάτων ἀνδρὸς δρόμον προκηρύσσοντος (cf. however vv. 417-419), but there is a more important matter than that in v. 684, namely the interpretation of the relative clause οὗ πρώτη κρίσις. Nauck understood this to be a restrictive clause, though, of course, in the pernicious German fashion that the present writer for one would be glad to see banished for ever from Greek and Latin texts, he sets a comma before οὗ. We should then understand δρόμον οὗ πρώτη κρίσις as=τοῦτον τὸν δρόμον οὗ πρώτη κρίσις. But this interpretation of the relative clause practically demands, I venture to think, not οὗ πρώτη κρίσις but οὗ πρώτου κρίσις=ὃς πρώτος (sc. τῶν ἄλλων δρόμων) κρίνεται. If, however, we take δρόμον in the sense of 'running,' 'foot-racing' (ποδῶν δρόμον), we can perfectly well understand οὗ πρώτη κρίσις as=οὗ κρίσις πρώτη, i.e. οὗ ἡ κρίσις πρώτη (=πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων

¹ It ought to be added here that Hermann Schütz in the *Sophokleische Studien*, p. 292, separates Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν from ἐλθῶν but makes χάριν purely substantival and appositive to πρόσχημ'. This I cannot believe to be right.

κρίσεων) γίνεται, although it must be admitted that οὐ πρῶτον κρίσις would have been clearer.

We come now to the much and variously discussed v. 685 sq. Here I cannot but think that Schütz's lucid note in his *Sophokleische Studien*, pp. 292-4, is fatal to Musgrave's ingenious and palaeographically plausible τῇ 'φέσει (corrected by Dindorf to τὰφέσει). However, there are objections to that conjecture that have not perhaps been put forward. (1) δρόμον would, if τὰφέσει be adopted, have to be understood as=τοῦ δρόμου; (2) the emphatic position of δρόμον would also remain unexplained and, perhaps, unexplainable. The only way, it might be urged, in which Musgrave's conjecture could readily be admitted would be by changing δρόμον (δρόμω, δρόμον) into δραμών. Now the contrast of εἰσῆλθε (v. 685) and ἐξῆλθε (v. 687) shews that vv. 686 and 687 must be closely connected with those that immediately precede: the full stop after σέβας should be replaced by a point above the line. Furthermore, we want at the head of the clause that is begun in v. 685 something to resume and carry on the former half of the sentence. This δρόμον will do, if taken in the same sense that δρόμον bears in 684 or that the δρόμον bears which we understand with εἰσῆλθε in v. 685. Should we not understand δρόμον τὰ τέρματα to mean 'the issue of running' and interpret v. 685 as=δραμών δὲ συμμέτρως τῇ φύσει (=τῇ ἡλαμπρότητι τῆς φύσεως implied in v. 685) or, more concisely, δραμών δὲ λαμπρῶς? Orestes was handsome to look at and he ran handsomely. My (and Wolff's) explanation of the passage thus differs from one that is commonly given chiefly in the interpretation of τὰ τέρματα. The main objection to this explanation and its fellow is that we must supply αὐτοῦ referring to Orestes with τῇ φύσει.

ON SOPHOCLES'S *ELECTRA* 683 sq.¹

In the words:

ὅτ' ἦσθετ' ἀνδρὸς ὀρθίων κηρυγμάτων
δρόμον προκηρύξαντος κτέ.

I have already hinted in this *Review* (xvi. 6)² that, because προκηρύξαντος is in the aorist, the phrases ἀνδρὸς προκηρύξαντος and ὀρθίων κηρυγμάτων (which by the way might well be, as has been suggested by Professor van Herwerden, a mistake for δ. γηρυγμάτων) are in con-

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. XVII (1903), p. 209.]

² [See above, p. 79.]

flict; for ἀνδρὸς προκηρύξαντος seems to be intended to depend on the other phrase and such dependence would seem to demand προκήρυσσοντος. I believe we have to do with a fairly ancient corruption and that what Sophocles wrote is ὀρθίῳ κηρύγματι (or γηρύματι?). The corruption would be due to the miswriting, or rather misreading, of ὀρθίῳ as ὀρθίῳν and the subsequent assimilation of the following word to that ὀρθίῳν.

CRITICAL NOTES ON CERTAIN PASSAGES IN SOPHOCLES'S *PHILOCTETES*.¹

Vv. 43 sq. ἀλλ' ἢ πὶ φορβῆς νόστον ἐξέληλυθεν
ἢ φύλλον εἴ τι νώδυνον κάταυδέ που.

The traditional text of v. 43 is quite out of the question, nor does any one of the emendations hitherto proposed (so far as they are known to me) seem to restore the *manus Sophoclea*. This was, I conjecture, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ φορβῇ ΝΕΚΤΙΝ ἐξεληλυθῶς (φορβὴν ἔστιν ἐξεληλυθώς). The ease with which this could corrupt into the traditional form needs no comment.

Vv. 54 sq. ΝΕ. τί δῆτ' ἄνωγας; ΟΔ. τὴν Φιλοκτῆτου σε δεῖ
ψυχὴν ὅπως λόγοισιν ἐκκλέψεις λέγων.
ὅταν σ' ἐρωτᾷ τίς τε καὶ πόθεν πάρει,
λέγειν Ἀχιλλέως παῖς · τόδ' οὐχὶ κλεπτέον ·

The syntax of these verses as they stand is very dubious. But I do not think it is to be helped adequately by changing λέγων to an inf. (e. g., σκοπεῖν). A simple solution of the difficulty may, I think, be found, if we stick closely to the connection of the speech of Odysseus with that of Neoptolemus, observing also the opening of the speech of Odysseus. Neoptolemus says τί δῆτ' ἄνωγας; "What then do you direct?" The natural answer to such a question is an oblique form of expression = imperative of oratio recta. This is, of course, in the case in question, the infin. Note now that the preceding speech of Odysseus, which Neoptolemus does not regard as imperative, has the δεῖ construction; and, further, that in v. 57 λέγειν would fall in much more naturally as second member of a compound infin. (= imperative in oratio recta) structure. In fine, I would read (adopting Gedike's δόλοισιν for λόγοισιν in v. 55, a conjecture that might

¹[From the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXIV (1893), p. xxxvii.]

occur to any one as it had to me independently, and Nauck's suggestion $\delta\tau\alpha\nu\delta'$ in v. 56) as follows:

τί δῆτ' ἄνωγας;—τὴν Φιλοκτῆτος σκοπεῖν
 ψυχὴν ὅπως δόλοισιν ἐκκλέψεις λόγων.
 ὅταν δ' ἐρωτᾷ τίς τε καὶ πόθεν πάρει,
 λέγειν Ἀχιλλέως παῖς· τόδ' οὐχὶ κρυπτέον.

(κρυπτέον Nauck for κλεπτέον). *Ai.* 556 sq., cited by Professor Jebb in support of the construction $\delta\epsilon\iota\ \delta\omega\varsigma$ c. fut. ind., admits of easy correction by substituting $\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\ \delta\omega\varsigma$ for $\sigma'\ \delta\omega\varsigma$ πατρὸς at the close of v. 556.

V. 567. $\omega\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau'$ ἐπίστω δρώμεν', οὐ μέλλοντ' ἔτι.

Though this verse is undoubtedly corrupt, it does not appear that either Nauck or Blaydes has been successful in his conjecturing,—the former reading $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ for $\omega\varsigma$; the latter, $\omega\varsigma\ \delta\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu'$ ἴσθι $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$, or $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau'$ ἐξεπίστω δρώμεν'. The last, however, comes nearest to what Sophocles seems to have written, viz., $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau'$ ἐπίστω δρώμεν': cf. *Electra* 616 $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\ \nu\upsilon\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omega\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\delta\epsilon\ \mu'\ \alpha\iota\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\nu\ \xi\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$. The corruption may easily have arisen from contamination of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Upsilon\epsilon \\ \Pi\omega\varsigma \end{array} \right.$ (568)—such contamination being a fruitful source of error in the Sophoclean text; or perhaps it may be due to v. 563 $\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\ \beta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}$.

Vv. 900 sqq. $\Phi\iota$. οὐ δὴ σε δυσχέρεια τοῦ νοσήματος
 ἐπεισεν ὥστε μὴ μ' ἄγειν ναύτην ἔτι;

NE . ἅπαντα δυσχέρεια, τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν
 ὅταν λιπὼν τις δρᾷ τὰ μὴ προσεικότα.

$\Phi\iota$. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ φυτεύσαντος σύ γε
 δρᾷς οὐδὲ φωνεῖς, ἐσθλὸν ἄνδρ' ἐπωφελῶν.

A similar case of contamination to that just suggested is to be detected, I think, in v. 901, where instead of $\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\nu\ \xi\tau\iota$ we should read $\nu\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \xi\pi\iota$. The source of corruption here was AYTOY in v. 902, probably aided by NOCHMATOC in v. 900. Again in v. 904 there has been a somewhat similar degeneration. $\text{OY}\Delta\text{EN}$ owes its origin in part to $\text{OY}\Delta\text{E}$ in v. 905. But, whatever were the details of the process, the original form of the verse I venture to think was this:

ἀλλ' $\text{OY}\xi\text{ENONTI}$ τοῦ φυτεύσαντος σύ γε
 (= οὐ ξένον τι).

$\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ c. gen. = *alienum* a c. abl. can be supported by *O. T.* 219 sq.:

ἀ γὰρ ξένος μὲν τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐξερῶ | ξένος δὲ τοῦ πραχθέντος. It also falls in most aptly as a retort to τὰ μὴ προσεικότα in v. 903.

V. 917. οἱμοι, τί εἶπας; Valckenaer's τί μ' εἶπας; is, of course, out of the question here. τί γ' εἶπας of B is, as Jebb says "weak." But why may not the phrase τί εἶπας; (common to-day, as always) have taken the place of a less common equivalent? I would suggest τί φωνεῖς; as in *Electra* 1349.

V. 991. ὦ μῦθος, οἷα κάξανευρίσκεῖς λέγειν.

λέγειν certainly strikes one oddly. Jebb suggests that it should be λέγων. That seems hardly likely, however, with ΚΡΑΤΩΝ at the close of v. 989 and ΔΕΓΩ at that of 990. Perhaps we should rather write ΕΠΗ. There are several ways in which ΛΕΓΕΙΝ might have come into the text.

AESCHYLUS.

OF THE PROLOGUE OF THE *AGAMEMNON*.¹

Though many scholars have handled the prologue of the *Agamemnon*, yet it may, I venture to think, be said without presumptuousness that they have left something still to be done in the elucidation and restoration of that small group of verses. It is to this task that I now address myself.

The proper interpretation of the prologue of the *Agamemnon* is far from simple. The right understanding of the character of the watcher, as Aeschylus has depicted it in words put in the watcher's mouth, is so bound up with questions about the text that the problem, What in general was the watchman meant by the poet to say? and the problem, How precisely did the poet make him express the thoughts attributed to him? can never be fully separated in any proper discussion of this passage. To the way in which Aeschylus, in a few masterly strokes, has made the watcher depict his own character, Patin has drawn attention in the excellent remark² about 'l'esclave d'Eschyle, qui ne prononce que quelques vers et offre cependant tout l'intérêt d'un caractère dramatique'. I will now run the risk of begging certain textual questions and proceed to set forth in a few words the character of the watcher and his mental attitude in the prologue.

The man is at once anxious for his master's return and fearful of what may follow upon that return. He is thoroughly loyal to Agamemnon, whom he loves (v. 34 sq.); he fears Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus and mourns the evils of the house (vv. 14, 36 sq., 18 sq.). But his virtue is after all but the virtue of the faithful slave: his loyalty is alloyed with a regard for his own interests and his own comfort. Indeed, so prominent does he make his sense of the discomforts and the tediousness of his yearlong task that it

¹ Read before the American Philological Association at Union College, Schenectady, 9 July, 1902, [and printed in the *Classical Review*, Vol. XVII (1903), pp. 102-105.]

² Patin's 'Eschyle' (in *Études sur les tragiques grecs*) p. 314, quoted approximately in Wecklein's German edition.

would seem that readers of his words have generally been quite misled about the tenor of his speech. And this brings us at once to a question of the minute interpretation of the text.

If what has just been said of the state of mind of the watcher is true—and there is a begging of the question in my assuming above what a careful study of the text has seemed to me surely to yield—, if, I say, my analysis of the watcher's state of mind is just, then the *μὲν* in v. 1 is concessive and its correlative is the *δέ* in v. 12. The man is indeed (*μὲν*) praying for release from his irksome task by the beacon that shall announce his master's speedy return, but (*δὲ*) mourns the evil plight of the house and dreads the future. This is the sum and substance of that part of the prologue which precedes the flare of the beacon on the neighbouring mountain; and this prelude thus falls into two halves of which the former consists of vv. 1-11, omitting the spurious v. 7. We will now examine certain portions of vv. 1-11.

A very important matter is the proper understanding of *καὶ νῦν* in v. 8. If we had to guess the general drift of what preceded the words *καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω* without having vv. 1-6 before us, we should certainly say that it must be either 'I have been doing something else than keeping watch for the beacon', or 'I have been keeping watch for a certain time'. Now we have vv. 1-6 before us, and we know that the former alternative is wrong. Where and how is the latter alternative expressed? The answer is that it is expressed in vv. 4-6. If we follow this line of interpretation, we should, I believe, come to see that *ἦν* in v. 2 has hitherto been wrongly construed and that vv. 2-8 are an elaboration of *φρουρᾶς ἐτείας μήκος ἦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον*, the verb *φυλάσσω* having a double object, an effected and an affected. The ultimate construction of *ἦν* is, then, with *φυλάσσω*, the words *κοιμώμενος...δίκην* are parenthetical, and vv. 4-6 are = *πεφύλαχα χεῖμα καὶ θέρος*.¹ This is revolutionary, but it is, after all, only a matter of putting the commas in the right places.

I may note before taking up v. 12 sqq. that the spurious v. 7 would never have been inserted, had it been seen, as I venture to think it should have been, that the genitive *ἄστρον νυκτέρων* belongs

¹ *τοὺς φέροντας... αἰθέρι* I take with others to refer to the stars that mark by their rising and setting the changes of the seasons. See Wecklein's note *ad loc.* in his *Äschylos Orestia*.

quite as much to τοὺς . . . δυνάστας as to δμήγυριν. Furthermore, it may be, as Meineke and van Herwerden have suggested, that ἀνδρόβουλον should give place to ἀνδρόλημον.

In the sentence—or clause—that begins in v. 12 M. Henri Weil's first thoughts seem to me to have been entirely right, so far as vv. 12 and 16 are concerned. We should regard *ὅταν δ'* as resumptive and should restore *ἔχων* for *ἔχω*. We find again that a simple thought is elaborated in a rambling fashion (and we must not forget that it is a slave that is speaking) to the confusion of the line by line reader. All would have been clear to the audience as Aeschylus's actor rendered the verses. The simple thought is this: *εἴτ' ἂν δέ, νυκτίπλαγκτον ἔνδροςόν τ' ἔχων | εὐνήν, αἰεΐδεν ἢ μινύρεσθαι δοκῶ*, and the fact that these words form two perfect trimeters makes me think that they represent very nearly Aeschylus's first draft on which he afterwards improved. The variation *εἴτ' ἂν*—*ὅταν* is characteristic of Greek style—and characteristic, too, in that the second synonyme is the commoner word. *ὅταν δ'*, it may be added, resumes the whole of *εἴτ' ἂν νυκτίπλαγκτον . . . εὐνήν* and should be followed by a comma.

In the parenthetical words *δνείροις . . . ὕπνῳ* I cannot convince myself that *ἐμήν* is not what Aeschylus wrote. V. 1226 (*ἐμῷ· φέρειν γὰρ χρὴ τὸ δούλιον ζυγόν*) is quite strikingly like v. 14, and Eur. *Med.* 793 (*τᾶμ'· οὔτις ἔστιν ὅστις ἐξαιρήσεται*) also favours *ἐμήν*. In this parenthesis it is also to be noted that *ἀνθ' ὕπνου* in v. 14 cannot be what Aeschylus wrote; but I cannot think that the *ἀντίπνου*s which Messrs van Herwerden (*Exerc. Cr.*, p. 96) and Wecklein have proposed is certainly right. The word was rather, I fancy, *ἀντίος*, out of which and a clumsy explanatory *ὕπνου* the traditional reading could have arisen.

In v. 16 I fail to see why *δοκῶ* should not bear its ordinary sense of 'seeming'. 'Whenever', says the watcher, 'anyone that overhears me thinks I am trying to keep awake by turning a tune, I am really sobbing'. The expression, whether in the Greek or in this free rendering, is a perfectly natural one.

After v. 19, in which I would accept the substitution of *δεσποτουμένου* for the traditional *διαπονουμένου*, v. 20 sq. follow rather abruptly. But that is not all. At the end of the prologue we find four verses (36-39) that have nothing to do with what immediately precedes

them, that deal with the dark secrets of the house and that fit perfectly after v. 19. My opinion that vv. 36-39 were placed by Aeschylus after v. 19 coincides with that of Professor van Herwerden, who in his *Emendationes Aeschyleae* (*Jahrbb.* 10^{er} *Suppl.*, 121 sqq.) writes thus (p. 132): 'Vss. 36-39 longe aptiorem locum nanciscuntur, si mecum transposueris statim post vs. 19, ubi custos tetigit tristem rerum conditionem. Quo facto et vocabula τὰ δ' ἄλλα habebunt quo referantur, et laetiora moesta exceperint ad finem orationis usque continuata'. I may add here that the Νῶν δ' in v. 20 forms a sort of reditus ad propositum and brings us around to the point of view of v. 1. Dramatically v. 20 sq. prepare the way for the appearance of the beacon.

But there are certain textual questions in vv. 38 and 39 that require attention. The looming of fire by night, as Aeschylus dwells upon it in this prologue, inevitably calls up the opening of Pindar's first *Olympian*; and must not Aeschylus himself have had those splendid verses in mind when he wrote those that we are now examining? Does not also a certain likeness in v. 39 to something else in Pindar, that striking phrase *φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν* which seems to have taken hold upon the subsequent poets (cf. Euripides's *εὐξύνετον ξυνετοῖσι βοᾶν* *I.T.* 1092), does not this likeness also suggest that Pindar was running in Aeschylus's mind? Indeed, I believe that v. 39 in its original form had far greater likeness to the Pindaric phrase than it has in the traditional form. There is difficulty in construing vv. 38 and 39, as they stand. *λήθομαι*, of course with *ἐκὼν*, means 'forget on purpose' and need give us no trouble; but where is its object, and what are we to do with *αὐδῶ* and the following *καὶ* where we do not want a finite form at all, but a participle or equivalent? The Pindaric phrase helps us out in part, and I would write *ὦν ἐκὼν ἐγώ, μαθοῦσιν αὐδῆς, οὐ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι*. There is a somewhat similar corruption to that assumed in *αὐδῶ κοῦ* in v. 1244, where for *κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς, οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα* we should read *κλύοντ' ἀληθῆ κοῦδὲν ἐξηκασμένα*.¹

Of the remainder of the prologue I have less to say. I would accept Hermann's transpositions of *Ἴον ἰού*, would take *συμφορᾶς* in v. 20 as 'coincidence' (*τῆσδε συμφορᾶς χάριν* must then go with

¹ This correction has been anticipated by Professor van Herwerden (*Exercitationes Criticae*, p. 99).

χαῖρε), would read *σημανῶ* in v. 26, would take *δόμοις* in v. 27 as locative and construe *τῇδε λαμπάδι* in v. 28 with *επορθιάζειν*, and I would understand *θήσομαι* in v. 32 as a poetic equivalent of *ποιήσομαι* in the sense of *ἡγήσομαι*. Furthermore, I would understand *δεσποτῶν* (v. 32) as referring to Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra¹ and the words *τὰ δεσποτῶν εἶ πεσόντα* as = *τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν εὐτυχῇ*. Lastly, the contrast with *δεσποτῶν* demands that we write in v. 33 not *τῆσδ' ἐμοί* but *τῆσδ' ἐμοί*.

I have appended the continuous text of the prologue, as I would write it, and have added a close translation, which will be found to fill some small gaps in the commentary above.

[NOTE.—The prologue possibly occupied one page of a MS. that had 38 or 39 lines to the page, and vv. 36-39 were added by the scribe that first omitted them, when he discovered his blunder, at the foot of the page. For evidence of the existence of MSS. of the Tragedians with 39 lines to the page see Hayley on Eur. *Alc.* 312.]

Θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων	
φρουρᾶς ἑτέας μῆκος ἦν, κοιμώμενος	
στέγαις Ἀτρείδων ἀγκαθεν κυνὸς δίκην,	
ἄστρον κάτωδα νυκτέρων ὁμήγυριν	
καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς	5
λαμπροὺς δυνάστας ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι	6
καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον,	8
αὐγὴν πυρὸς φέρουσιν ἐκ Τροίας φάτιν	
ἀλώσιμόν τε βάζειν · ὧδε γὰρ κρατεῖ	10
γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ ·	
εἴτ' ἂν δέ, νυκτίπλαγκτον ἑνδροσόν τ' ἔχω < ν >	
εὐνὴν—δνείροις οὐκ ἐπισκοπουμένην	
ἐμήν · φόβος γὰρ ἀντίος παραστατεῖ	
τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ—	15
ὅταν δ', αἰεῖδεν ἢ μινύρεσθαι δοκῶ	
ὑπνου τόδ' ἀντίμολπον ἐντέμνων ἄκος,	
κλαίω τότ' οἴκου τοῦδε συμφορὰν στένων	
οὐχ, ὥς τὰ πρόσθ', ἄριστα δεσποτουμένον—	19

¹ Of course, the reference is specially to Agamemnon, and Clytaemnestra can only be included by a specious optimism on the speaker's part, as though the evils he bewails in the present and dreads in the future were not there. His real thought appears in the δ' οὖν of v. 34.

τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ · βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας	36
βέβηκεν · οἶκος δ' αὐτός, εἰ φθογγὴν λάβῃ,	37
σαφέστατ' ἂν λέξειεν ὧν ἐκὼν ἐγώ,	38
μαθοῦσιν αὐδῆς, οὐ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι.	39
Νῦν δ' εὐτυχὴς γένοιτ' ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων	20
εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὀρφναίου πυρός.	21
Ἰού, ἰού ·	25
ὦ χαῖρε, λαμπτήρ νυκτὸς ἡμερήσιον	22
φάος πιφάυσκων καὶ χορῶν κατάστασιν	
πολλῶν ἐν Ἄργει, τῇσδε συμφορᾷ χάριν.	24
Ἀγαμέμνονος γυναικὶ σημανῶ τορῶς	26
εὐνῆς ἐπαντείλασαν ὡς τάχος δόμοις	
ὀλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα τῇδε λαμπάδι	
ἐπορθιάζειν, εἴπερ Ἰλίου πόλις	
ἑάλωκεν, ὡς ὁ φρυκτὸς ἀγγέλλων πρέπει ·	30
αὐτὸς τ' ἔγωγε φροῖμιον χορεύσομαι ·	
τὰ δεσποτῶν γὰρ εὖ πεσόντα θήσομαι	
τρὶς ἕξ βαλοῦσης τῇσδ' ἐμοὶ φρυκτωρίας.	
Γένοιτο δ' οὖν μολόντος εὐφιλῇ χέρα	
ἄνακτος οἴκων τῇδε βαστάσαι χερί.	35

2-3 Sensui interpunctionem accommodavi.

4 Virgulam post ὁμήγουρον vulgo positam omisi, qui *δυνάστας* quoque cum *ἄστρον* iungendum esse censeam.

6 Virgulam sive gravius punctum post αἰθέρι omisi, quia simplex sententia est *ἡν φυλάσσω*.

12 Post δέ virgulam inserui ; ἔχων scripsi sicut olim Weil.

13 et 15 Verba quaedam a poeta διὰ μέσου iniecta lineis indicavi.

14 ἀντίος scripsi viam monstrante Weckleino, qui ἀντίπνοος imprimendum curavit. Idem iam proposuerat van Herwerden.

19 δεσποτουμένου pro διαπονουμένου praeceuntibus aliis cum Duebnero restitui.

Versus 36-39 huc reduxi. Idem iam fecerat van Herwerden.

39 Ratione habita et loci sententiae et uncialis litterarum ductus et Pindarici illius *φωνᾶντα* (quod sic scribendum esse censeo) *συνεταῖσιν* restituere conatus sum Aeschyleam manum. Cf. *Ag.* 1244, ubi pro ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν scribendum erat ἀληθῆς οὐδὲν.

25 In sedem suam reposui cum Hermanno.

26 Deteriorum librorum σημανῶ Medicei illi σημαινω cum Weckleino praetuli.

33 τῇσδ' ἐμοὶ pro librorum τῇσδε μοι reposui.

The gods, it is true, I am asking for release from those toils of a watch a year in length which, couching on the roofs of the Atridae upon elbow dogwise, I have learned full well the night stars' rank and file <in> and those bright lords <of theirs> , looming in

the aether, that bring winter and summer to mortals, and now am keeping for that token of a torch, a gleam of fire that shall bring out of Troy speech and talk of capture; for thereto constrains <me> a woman's man-minded expectant heart: whensoever, though, occupying a night-buffeted and dewy couch— <a couch> by dreams unvisited in my case; for fear is at <my> side preventing my closing my eyelids tight in sleep—, whenever, I say, <occupying such a couch>, I am thought to be singing or humming, using that as a charm against sleep, I am <really> at such times weeping, mourning this house's misfortune, which is not, as once, most fitly governed—but I say no more; an ox upon my tongue stands heavy; but the house for itself, could it receive <the gift of> speech, would tell most clearly what I, of my own will, though voiceful to them that know, to them that know not forget. Now, however, may a fortunate release from toils come by the appearing of the fire of good news through the murk of night. Hurrah! hurrah! ah! welcome, thou beamer that by night daylight dost shew and <dost betoken> the holding of dances many in Argos, <welcome> for that thou comest upon the heels of my word! To Agamemnon's wife I'll signal clear that rising starlike¹ from her couch with all speed she shrill a cry of worshipful welcome over this torch, if indeed Troy-town is taken, as the beacon looms its message; and for myself I'll dance a prelude <to the public dances>; for my master's game I'll count a winning one now that this beacon-watch has thrown me treble six. But, <whether a winning game or not>, may it be <mine>, when he comes home again, to lift the well-beloved hand of the lord of the house with this hand of mine.

NOTE ON AESCHYLUS *PROMETHEUS* 629²

μή μου προκήδον μάσσον ὥς ἐμοί γλυκύ.

It seems a pity that the latest editors still cling to this reading. It stands in both the annotated edition of the *Prometheus* of Messrs. Sikes and Willson (1898) and the Parnassus Library text of Professor Campbell (1898). Professor Campbell puts Elmsley's *μασσόνως ἢ μοι* at the foot of the page, and Messrs Sikes

¹ 'Der Wächter ist noch ganz eingenommen von der Beobachtung der Sterne.' (Wecklein.)

² [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. XIV (1900), p. 20.]

and Willson say of the same conjecture: 'Were emendation necessary, this would be good.' Though the latter editors have examined Dr Wecklein's large Greek edition, they do not seem to realize that he has practically given up his former view of the construction in question. His Greek note is decidedly curious—to say the least. After reproducing the note of the German edition he continues: 'Ἀλλὰ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ μὲν ἑτέρας φύσεως, τὰ δὲ ἀμφισβητουμένης γραφῆς. Ἐὰν δὲ ὡς παρεδόθη ὀρθῶς, ὅπερ φαίνεται βέβαιον, δὲν κείται ἀντὶ τοῦ ἤ. Φαίνεται δὲ πιθανώτερον, ὅτι ἐλλείπει ἐνταῦθα τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ συγκριτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ κώλου τῆς συγκρίσεως ὑπάρχον ἢ (πρβ. Πλάτ. Πολιτ. σελ. 410 D μαλακώτεροι ἢ ὡς κάλλιον αὐτοῖς) καὶ ἡ ἔννοια εἶναι: ὡς ἐμοὶ ἀρεστόν ἐστι, μὴ φρόντιζε πλέον περὶ ἐμοῦ. Πρβ. Εὐρ. Ἰππ. 530 οὕτε γὰρ πυρὸς οὐτ' ἄστρον ὑπέρτερον βέλος οἶον τὸ τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας ἦσιν ἐκ χερῶν Ἑρως καὶ Ἀлк. 879 τί γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κακὸν μείζον ἀμαρτεῖν πιστῆς ἀλόχου. If it is probable that ἢ is left out here between the terms of the comparison, then it should be put in and μᾶσσον ἢ ὡς be restored. ὡς ἐμοὶ ἀρεστόν ἐστι, μὴ φρόντιζε πλέον περὶ ἐμοῦ does not represent a case of omission of the particle of comparison, but means 'since it is my pleasure, do not take thought about me further.' Of course, the passage cited from Plato has nothing to do with such an interpretation; but it is excellent as a support for the reading μᾶσσον ἢ ὡς. As for the two passages cited from Euripides at the end of the note, that from the *Alcestis* was probably rightly explained by Hermann, as I now think with Mr Hayley (see his excellent note on *Alc.* 879–80). The passage from the *Hippolytus* is in all likelihood to be corrected by inserting ἢ before οἶον. The copyists quite commonly fumbled ἢ ὡς (and the like: so particularly μὴ οὐ). A good example is to be found in Hippocrates *περὶ διαίτης δξέων* 2, where the MSS. vary between the right reading *ἐτεροῖως γινώσκω ἢ ὡς κείνοι ἐπέξῃσαν* and *γινώσκω ὡς* (see Kuehlewein's critical note *ad. loc.*). In Xen. *Hellen.* 2. 3, 16 *ἡττόν τι οἶε (οἶη) ὥσπερ* is a mistake for . . . ἢ ὥσπερ, as I have elsewhere noted. One is surprised to find Solon's *κέντρον δ' ἄλλος ὡς ἐγὼ λαβὼν* figuring in Messrs Sikes and Willson's note on the *Prometheus* as an example of ὡς = ἢ. Does not Aristotle *Ἀθ. πολ.* 12 paraphrase Solon's words by *εἰ γάρ τις ἄλλος ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἔτυχεν*? This citation the editors just named seem to owe to Mr Adam (on Plat. *Apol.* 36 D). Mr Adam believes (or believed) that ὡς could be used for ἢ after a comparative. But the best example he adduces, Plat. *Rp.* 526 C, is due to carelessness on Plato's part owing to the wide separa-

tion of *μείζω πόνον* from the second term of the comparison, which ought, of course, to be *ἢ ὅσον τοῦτο* or *ἢ τοῦτο*, but appears in the form *ὥς τοῦτο*, as though *οὕτω μέγαν πόνον* had gone before. After all's said and done, it would seem that Dr Thompson's dictum that 'the use of *ὥς* for *ἢ* after a comparative is a barbarism' must stand. When shall we see *μή μου προκήδου μάσσον ἢ ὥς ἐμοὶ γλυκύ* come into its own?

EURIPIDES.

NOTES ON EURIPIDES'S *ALCESTIS*.¹

Vv. 282-289.

ἐγὼ σὲ πρεσβεύουσα κἀντὶ τῆς ἐμῆς
 ψυχῆς καταστήσασα φῶς τόδ' εἰσορᾶν
 θνήσκω, παρόν μοι μὴ θανεῖν ὑπὲρ σέθεν
 ἀλλ' ἄνδρα τε σχεῖν Θεσσαλῶν ὃν ἤθελον
 καὶ δῶμα ναίειν ὄλβιον τυραννίδι
 οὐκ ἠθέλησα ζῆν ἀποσπασθεῖσα σοῦ
 ξὺν παισὶν ὀρφανοῖσιν οὐδ' ἐφεισάμην,
 ἥβης ἔχουσα δῶρ', ἐν οἷς ἐτερπόμην.

The difficulty in this passage begins with v. 285. It will not do to supply, with Monk, *παρόν μοι* from v. 284, or, with Hermann, to make *ἀλλ'* connect only the infinitives. Lenting's *κούκ* for *οὐκ* in v. 287 and Kirchhoff's *οὐδ'* in the same place do not satisfy; nor has M. Weil helped the passage by writing in v. 284 *θνήσκω · παρόν δὲ κτέ.* In order satisfactorily to treat this difficult passage we must begin with v. 284. (Perhaps I should have said that the difficulty, though not the obvious one, begins here.) It is certainly far more natural to take *ὑπὲρ σέθεν* with *θνήσκω* than with *θανεῖν*: that every reader of the verse must feel. But if we read in that way, we shall begin a new construction with *ἀλλ'*. The one word that interferes with *ἀλλ' ἄνδρα κτέ.* as a new sentence is the infinitive *ζῆν* in v. 287; and here, I believe, we have found the *ἔλκος*. Substitute for *ζῆν* the participle *ζῶσ'* (cf. v. 695 *ζῆς παρελθὼν* and Xen. *Anab.* 2. 6, 29 *ζῶν αἰκισθεῖς*) and all is right.

θνήσκω, παρόν μοι μὴ θανεῖν, ὑπὲρ σέθεν.
 ἀλλ' ἄνδρα τε σχεῖν Θεσσαλῶν ὃν ἤθελον
 καὶ δῶμα ναίειν ὄλβιον τυραννίδι
 οὐκ ἠθέλησα ζῶσ' ἀποσπασθεῖσά σου
 ξὺν παισὶν ὀρφανοῖσιν κτέ.

Vv. 291 sq.

καλῶς μὲν αὐτοῖς κατθανεῖν ἦκον βίου,
 καλῶς δὲ σῶσαι παῖδα κεύκλεώς θανεῖν ·

¹ [From the Classical Review, Vol. X (1896), pp. 374-376.]

V. 292 is objectionable in its traditional form by reason of the repetitious *θανεῖν*. This is best got rid of by accepting Wakefield's *φθίνειν* (cf. Wecklein's emendation in v. 25). But there is another word that seems quite as clearly wrong, and that is *κεύκλεως*. Read the adjective for the adverb—*κεύκλεεις*.

Vv. 320-322.

δεῖ γὰρ θανεῖν με · καὶ τόδ' οὐκ ἐς αὔριον
οὐδ' ἐς τρίτην μοι μὴνός ἔρχεται κακόν,
ἀλλ' αὐτίκ' ἐν τοῖς μηκέτ' οὔσι λέξομαι.

Though I cannot feel with Mr Hayley (*Amer. Journal of Philology*, xvi. i. p. 103) that v. 321 is right as it stands, I am becoming less and less disposed to regard it as a probable or possible interpolation. The simplest treatment of this crux criticorum seems to be the changing of a single letter so as to read

οὐδ' ἐς τρίτην μοι μὴν ἐσέρχεται κακόν.

This had been suggested also by Johann Kvicala (*Studien zu Euripides*, ii. p. 11), although (with a perverseness sadly characteristic of this scholar) he proposes as "das wahrscheinlichste"

οὐδ' ἐς τρίτην μοι μέλλον ἔρχεται κακόν.

For the *μὴν* in this position in the verse may be compared M. Weil's excellent restoration of v. 487 (*ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀπειπεῖν μὴν πόνους οἶόν τ' ἐμοί*) and his note thereon.

[Since this note was written, I have received, through the courtesy of the author, Mr Hayley's *Varia Critica* (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. vii.), at the close of which he resumes the discussion of this passage. From this it appears that he is now disposed to regard *μηνός* as unsound. For it he suggests *νηλές*.]

Vv. 360-362.

κατῆλθον ἄν, καὶ μ' οὐθ' ὁ Πλούτωνος κύων
οὐθ' οὐπὶ κώπῃ ψυχοπομπὸς ἄν γέρων
ἔσχευ, πρὶν ἐς φῶς σὸν καταστήσαι βίον.

The word *γέρων* in v. 361 is due to the acuteness of Cobet (*Var. Lectt.*² p. 581). It is accepted, as I am glad to see, by M. Weil (whose excellent edition of the *Alcestis*, I may add, did not come into my hands until the printing of my own text was so far advanced that I was unable to adopt several admirable corrections of his).

Cobet in the same place suggested that βίον in v. 362 was a gloss on φῶς that had ousted the original final word of the verse. This word, he suggested, was δέμας. The same conjecture was made by Nauck. Not satisfied with this I have kept the vulgate. M. Weil had done the same. I am inclined, however, to believe that Cobet's account of the origin of βίον is right. The key to the emendation of v. 362 appears to be given by I. T. 981 sq. καὶ σὲ πολυκῶπῳ σκάφει | στείλας Μυκήναις ἐγκαταστήσω πάλιν. Read in the *Alcestis*

πρὶν ἐς φῶς σ' ἐγκαταστήσαι <πάλιν>.

Vv. 1118-1120.

ΑΔ. καὶ δὴ προτείνω. HP. Γοργόν' ὡς κατατομῶν.

ἔχεις; ΑΔ. ἔχω. HP. ναί, σφῶζε νῦν καὶ τὸν Διὸς

φήσεις πότε' εἶναι παῖδα γενναῖον ξένον.

To M. Weil is due the admirable division of v. 1118 that I have here followed; but the same scholar is not equally successful in his treatment of v. 1119, where he would read ΑΔ. ἔχω νιν. HP. σφῶζε νιν, καὶ κτέ. It seems unnecessary to change the traditional ναί. Why should νιν have given way to it? Monk seems to have been right in giving ναί to Admetus. Hermann pithily says: "Recte ναί Monkius Herculi dedit: male autem scripsit νιν" [for νῦν]. A careful study of the passage seems furthermore to demand that we read the words after σφῶζε as they are printed in Hermann's Monk's *Alcestis* (Leipsic 1824) and are reproduced above. The νῦν and πότε' are contrasted: 'keep now and you will say some time', etc.

V. 1131.

ΑΔ. θίγω, προσείπω ζῶσαν ὡς δάμαρτ' ἐμήν;

The ὡς is certainly awkward. Paley construed it with ζῶσαν "i.e. not as a mere φάσμα νερτέρων." But the following words are awkwardly definite. I have suggested an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction with both ζῶσαν and δάμαρτ' ἐμήν. But this is awkward. M. Weil in his critical note to v. 1129 quotes Mekler's εἰσορῶ ξυνάορον for εἰσορῶ δάμαρτ' ἐμήν and in his explanatory note on the same verse asks: "Le poète aurait-il répété ces mots au vers 1131?" The doubt is a fair one; but the difficulty in v. 1131 should prompt us to emend there rather than in v. 1129, the close of which seems quite natural as a repetition of that of v. 1126 (ὁρᾶς δάμαρτα σήν). *Med.* 1350 (ἔξω προσειπεῖν ζῶντας) points to a separation of ὡς from ζῶσαν (so too does the position of ὡς),

and *Alc.* 1124 may perhaps supply what we need. We may compare too *Soph. El.* 1452 ἡ καὶ θανόντ' ἡγγεῖλαν ὡς ἐτητύμως; Certainly the reading θίγω, προσείπω ζῶσαν ὡς <ἐτητύμως>; might easily have been corrupted to the traditional form by the gloss δάμαρτ' ἐμήν added to ἐτητύμως.

V. 1134.

ἔχω σ' ἀέλπτως, οὔποτ' ὄψεσθαι δοκῶν;

(best read as a question in view of Heracles's answer) should perhaps be corrected by writing οὐκέτ' for οὔποτ'. The same correction was suggested—not improbably—by Musgrave in v. 876.

V. 1143 seems to need a slight correction. Thus:

τί γάρ ποθ' ὦδ' ἀναυδος ἔστηκεν γυνή;

The importance of the readings of Codex Parisinus 2713 (a) in several passages of the *Alcestis* needs to be emphasized. Kirchhoff's judgment of this MS. was certainly unfair.

Vv. 433-4.

ἀξιά δέ μοι

τιμῶν, ἐπεὶ τέθνηκεν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ, λίαν.

The reading of a punctuated thus gives excellent sense and emphasis. (I may add that a spells τέθνηκεν.) Kvíčala (*Studien zu Eur.* ii. p. 12) saw the value of a's λίαν but thought it in the wrong place. His suggested emendation (ἀξιά δέ μοι | τιμῶν (oder nach S. τιμῆς λίαν, ἐπεὶ τέθνηκεν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ) is, of course, valueless. Nauck's ἐπεὶ τέτληκεν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ θανεῖν, which I, rather rashly, adopted, is better than Usener's ἐπεὶ γ' ἔθνησκεν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ μόνη, which M. Weil accepts.

In v. 546 it is perhaps unnecessary to call attention to a's τῶδε, which (in the form τῷδε) has won general acceptance, except in proof of the independent value of a.

In v. 811. a's reading

ἡ κάρτα μέντοι καὶ λίαν θυραῖος ἦν

(for the verification of which I am indebted to the courtesy of M. Henri Omont of the Bibliothèque Nationale) has been undervalued or disregarded since Kirchhoff's great edition. It is supported by δθνεῖον in v. 810 and, more clearly, by θυραίων in 814. (I still maintain the integrity of the traditional arrangement of vv. 809-815.) A misunderstanding of the irony of v. 811 with a's reading might well have led to οἰκίος. θυραῖος (which appears only in a of the MSS.

recognized by Prinz but is found also in inferior MSS.) was printed by Lascaris and accepted by Matthiae and Hermann, though persistently rejected by Monk. Paley accepted it in his first edition but changed to *οικείος* in his second. Mr Way in his translation accepts *θυραῖος* ("O yea, an alien she—o'ermuch an alien!"). Mr Verrall (*Euripides the Rationalist*, p. 52 note) says: "The reading *λίαν θυραῖος* is clearly right: *λίαν οικείος*, the facile but pointless variant, is merely an unintelligent gloss."

A higher estimate of the value of a's readings may well lead us to accept v. 1055 in the form

ἢ τῆς θανούσης θάλαμον εἰσβήσας τρέφω;

In v. 1140 *δαμόνων τῷ κυρίῳ* should probably be accepted with Matthiae, Hermann, Kvičala (*Studien zu Eur.* ii. p. 38), Weil and Verrall (*Euripides the Rationalist*, p. 68 note). The variant is a guess like *οικείος* in v. 811. Kvičala interprets rightly "der entscheidende *δαίμων*"—"jener, mit dem es eben Herakles aufnehmen musste."

Other readings in the *Alcestis* that appear to be rightly supported by a (not to mention the obvious *αὐτῇ* in v. 37 and *πάσῃ* of v. 1154) are the following:

V. 45.

χθονὸς κάτω.

V. 1049.

γυνὴ νέα (on account of the *νέα γάρ* of v. 1050).

V. 1117.

τόλμα · πρότεινε χεῖρα καὶ θίγε ξένης.

NOTE ON EURIPIDES'S *ALCESTIS*. 207-208.¹

ὥς οὐ ποτ' αὖθις, ἀλλὰ νῦν πανύστατον
ἀκτῖνα κύκλον θ' ἡλίου προσόψεται.

If we keep v. 207 and reject v. 208, as I have proposed (and as had been proposed by Lachmann, *De Mensura Tragoediarum*, p. 44) it would look as if *Alc.* 207 were reminiscent of *Ajax* 858. Is *Antigone* 807-8 reminiscent of *Alc.* 207 or vice versa? If the former, the *Alcestis* might fall between *Ajax* and *Antigone*. This is the view I have suggested in my introduction to the *Alcestis*, p. xxx.

¹ [Ms. note.]

NOTE ON EURIPIDES, *ALCESTIS* 501.¹

Heracles, newly arrived at Pherae, converses with the Coryphaeus and is more nearly informed of the nature of his quest in Thrace. When told at length that the master of the man-eating horses is a son of Ares he says:

καὶ τόνδε τοῦμοῦ δαίμονος πόνον λέγεις ·
 σκληρὸς (f. στερρὸς : cf. *Androm.* 98 et schol. ad
 loc.) γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ πρὸς αἵπος ἔρχεται · 500
 εἰ χρὴ με παισὶν οὗς Ἄρης ἐγείνατο
 μάχην ξυνάψαι πρῶτα μὲν Λυκάονι,
 αὖθις δὲ Κύνῳ, τόνδε δ' ἔρχομαι τρίτον
 ἀγῶνα πῶλοις δεσπότη τε συμβαλῶν ·
 ἀλλ' οὗτις ἐστὶν ὃς τὸν Ἀλκμήνης γόνον 505
 τρέσαντα χεῖρα πολεμίαν ποτ' ὄψεται.

I have been at some pains to punctuate this passage accurately. It is a single sentence. V. 499 is parenthetic and might, therefore, be set off by dashes as well as by the point above the line. The gist of the sentence may be given briefly thus: 'Just my luck—always hard—to fight with another son of Ares after fighting with two! But I'll never turn my back on a foe.' I emphasise the fact that Heracles's speech is a single sentence, because I conceive that it is the vicious modern tendency to curtail the comprehensive ancient sentence and to fail to grasp it as a whole that has led here, as too often in the Classics, to a serious misconception of the author's meaning. To this misconception we owe it that the word *παισιν* in v. 501 has been called in question. Gilbert Wakefield in his *Tragoediarum Delectus* (London 1794) was, so far as I know, the first of the would-be correctors of this word. He printed in his text *πασιν*, annotating thus: 'Erectiorem feci sententiam et loquentis menti accomodatiorem, restituendo ex divinatione proprâ (sic) *πασιν* pro inerti atque inutili dictione *παισιν*: et quisnam adversabitur?' G. A. Wagner in his edition of the *Alcestis* (Leipsic 1800) objected to Wakefield's 'restitution', but without giving an adequate reason for his objection and—apparently—without fully understanding the passage. Monk merely notes '*πᾶσιν* pro *παισιν* edidit Wakefield.' In our time, in which peace has not been given to this passage, at least

¹[Read before the American Philological Association at Hartford, Conn., 6 July 1898, [and printed in the *Classical Review*, Vol. XII (1898), pp. 393-394].

two editors of the *Alcestis* have hit upon the same conjecture as Wakefield. In Dr Wecklein's edition of Wolfg. Bauer's *Alkestis* (Munich 1888) *πᾶσιν* is printed and credited apparently to himself by Dr Wecklein. Again Mr W. S. Hadley in his edition of the *Alcestis* (Cambridge 1896) prints *πᾶσιν* with the explanatory note: 'πᾶσιν, a natural exaggeration,' and the critical note: 'For the MSS. *παισὶν* I have read *πᾶσιν*; cf. n. in commentary; the enumeration of first, second and third makes the exaggeration natural: *παισὶν* seems pointless.' (Cf. also *Class. Rev.* xii. pp. 118-119.) By the rough rendering I have given above of this passage, as well as by my preliminary remarks upon it, I have already sought to indicate the arguments against this persistent conjecture. Heracles complains not of fighting with all Ares's sons, but of fighting with another, a third son of Ares. In a clearer and more prosaic form the sense of vv. 501-504 might be reproduced thus: *εἰ χρή με τῷδε τρίτῳ παιδὶ Ἄρεος μάχην ξυνάψαι δις ἤδη παισὶν Ἄρεος μάχην ξυνάψαντα πρῶτα—Κύνῳ*. The reading *παισὶν* brings *δεσπότην* in v. 504 among the 'sons that Ares begat'; the conjecture *πᾶσιν* puts Lycaon and Cycnus among them 'that Ares begat,' but places the 'master of the foals' in another category. If we try to reduce the proposed text to a more prosaic form we shall get something like this: *εἰ χρή με πᾶσιν οὖς (ῥόδους) Ἄρης ἐγείνατο μάχην ξυνάψαντα, πρῶτα—Κύνῳ, τόνδ' ἔρχεσθαι κτέ.* This reduction to prose is certainly a *reductio ad absurdum*. I do not, however, venture to hope that I shall have been able to banish this pestilent critical heresy for ever.

I may add that this passage gives me another occasion to note what I have noted by implication elsewhere (*Class. Rev.* ix. 202)¹, that a translator may succeed when the commentators fail. Mr Way does tolerable justice to the passage just discussed thus:

'Thou say'st: such toil my fate imposeth still,
Harsh evermore, uphillward straining aye,
If I must still in battle close with sons
Gotten of Arês; with Lycaon first,
And Kyknus then: and lo, I come to grapple—
The third strife this—with yon steeds and their lord.
But never man shall see Alkmênê's child
Quailing before the hand of any foe.'

¹ [See above, p. 33.]

μην | ἥβης, ἔχουσα δῶρ' ἐν οἷς ἐτερπόμεν· and that we should compare with v. 289 Soph. *El.* 360.

Further on in this same speech is a very well known and very palpable interpolation in v. 312. Hayley's note should be consulted here about the way in which the verse was possibly introduced into the text.

At v. 319 I believe we may perhaps again trace the hand of the author of vv. 287-289. At any rate, v. 319 seems to be a sentimental addition to Euripides's text. According to Wecklein's Appendix I have been forestalled in the condemnation of v. 319; for the author notes: '319 sq. delet Wheeler.' But an examination of J. H. Wheeler's dissertation *De Alcestidis et Hippolyti Euripidearum interpolationibus*, Bonn, 1879, p. 31, will shew that the note should read: '321 sq. delet Wheeler.'

I would add here that there is need of some correction in vv. 313-318. Reiske, with his remarkable power of reading Greek 'by the light of nature', saw what was needed in vv. 314-316. In v. 317 sq. I would restore, as Lenting suggested ('Placeret mihi, νυμφεύσω—*θαρσυνῶ*', *Ep. Crit.* p. 58), the first person (cf. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 32 [1901], p. c)¹. The whole passage will then read thus:

σὺ δ', ὦ τέκνον μοι, πῶς κορευθήσῃ καλῶς
τοίας τυχοῦσα συζύγῳ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ
ἥ σοί τιν' αἰσχροῦ προσβαλοῦσα κληδόνα
ἥβης ἐν ἀκμῇ σοὺς διαφθερεῖ γάμους;
Οὐ γάρ σε μήτηρ οὔτε νυμφεύσω ποτὲ
οὔτ' ἐν τόκοισι σοῖσι *θαρσυνῶ*, τέκνον·

I am prepared to hear murmurs at this point about the Megarian brigand's famous bit of furniture; but would Euripides himself, ὅπου ποτ' ἔστι, be inclined to say ὦ λέκτρα Προκρούστει' ἐν οἷς ἔτλην ἐγὼ στερρὰν ἀνάγκην αἰνέσαι κενός περ ὢν? For the speech of Alcestis pruned of the excrescences—or, rather, adherescences—that I have just treated of is forty-one verses long and thus exactly matches in length Admetus's answering speech in vv. 328-368. If then I am right in my treatment of Alcestis's speech, it is reasonably certain that Admetus's contains no spurious lines and that the excision of vv. 348-356, though proposed by so acute a critic as the late F. D. Allen and accepted by Hayley, is unjustifiable, whatever we may think of the taste displayed in those verses.

¹ [See below, Notes on Nominative of First Person in Euripides.]

EURIPIDE, *ALCESTE*, 1-85.¹

Dans l'admirable édition de l'*Alceste* d'Euripide de feu M. Hayley, on trouve exprimés des doutes sur l'authenticité de la scène un peu comique entre Apollon et Thanatos vv. 24-76 (pp. xxvii-xxix). Ces doutes, qui sont dus au savant maître du jeune et brillant helléniste que nous venons de perdre, M. F. D. Allen, mort lui-même il y a deux ans, étaient partagés par M. Hayley. Quoiqu'il soit bien difficile ou de lever de pareils doutes ou d'établir d'une manière pleinement satisfaisante l'authenticité des vers en question, j'ose ici donner sommairement des raisons assez curieuses qui, entre autres, m'inclinent à croire que les vers 1-85 de l'*Alceste*, excepté le v. 16, qui n'est pas d'Euripide, forment, pour ainsi dire, un tout.

Les vers 1-27, exclusion faite du v. 16, sont au nombre de 26 (se divisant en $7 + 7 + 6 + 6$). Les vers anapestiques 28-37, hors l'exclamation $\alpha \alpha$, qui est extra metrum, sont au nombre de 9.² Les vers 38-63 sont au nombre de 26 et font en quelque sorte pendant aux vers du prologue d'Apollon. Ils se divisent en deux parties égales, les vers 51 $\xi\chi\omega \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu\varsigma \delta\eta \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\rho\omicron\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu \sigma\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu$ rappelant d'une manière qui n'est peut être pas accidentelle le vers 38 $\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\epsilon\upsilon \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\nu \tau\omicron\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu\varsigma \kappa\epsilon\delta\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \xi\chi\omega$. Les vers 64-76, qui sont au nombre de 13, se partagent entre Apollon et Thanatos dans la proportion de 8 à 5, ce qui rappelle la division en $8 + 5$ des 13 vers d'Oedipe au commencement de l'*Oedipe Roi* et de l'*Oedipe à Colone* de Sophocle. Or les vers anapestiques du chœur qui suivent (77-85) sont au nombre de 9 et rappellent un peu, et par leur nombre et par la présence du mot $\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\omega\nu$ dans le premier vers ainsi que du mot $\pi\acute{o}\sigma\iota\nu$ près de la fin, les vers anapestiques de Thanatos (28-37). Je me demande, vu la ressemblance superficielle entre ces deux parties anapestiques et aussi la singularité d'expression qui se trouve à la fin du premier morceau (vv. 36-37), s'il n'y avait pas dans le manuscrit du poète même une ressemblance plus frappante encore. Afin de ne pas perdre trop de mots sur un sujet où est mêlée la conjecture et peut-être aussi la *petitio principii*, je réunirai ici les deux morceaux sous une forme qui me semble s'approcher peut-être plus de l'original. J'ajoute que M. Hayley, à qui j'ai communiqué cette conjecture, l'a trouvée au moins fort intéressante.

¹ [From the Revue de Philologie, Vol. XXIV (1900), pp. 145-146.]

² Je pense maintenant que j'avais tort de condamner dans mon édition le vers 31.

Vv. 28-37.

ᾄ ᾄ (extra metrum)
 τί σὺ τῇδε πολεῖς, τί σύ, πρὸς μελάρθοις,
 Φοῖβ' ; ἀδικεῖς αὖ τιμὰς ἐνέρων,
 ἀφοριζόμενος καὶ καταπαύων ;
 οὐκ ἤρκετέ σοι μόρον Ἀδμήτου
 διακωλῦσαι, Μοίρας δολίῳ
 σφήλαντα τέχνη, νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τῇδ' αὖ
 χέρα τοξήρη φρουρεῖς ὀπλίσας,
 ἧ τόδ' ὑπέστη, πόσιν ἐκλῦσαι
 προθανοῦσ' αὐτή, Πελίου παῖς ;

Vv. 77-85.

τί ποθ' ἥσυχία πρόσθεν μελάρθρων ;
 τί σεσίγηται δόμος Ἀδμήτου ;
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ φίλων πέλας <ἔστ'> οὐδεὶς
 ὅστις ἂν εἴποι πότερον φθιμένην
 χρὴ βασιλειαν πενθεῖν ἢ ζῶσ'
 ἔτι φῶς λεύσσει Πελίου τόδε παῖς
 Ἀλκηστis, ἐμοὶ πᾶσι τ' ἀρίστη
 δόξασα γυνὴ πόσιν εἰς αὐτῆς,
 <προθανοῦσ' αὐτοῦ>, γεγενῆσθαι.

NOTE ON EURIPIDES, *ANDROMACHE* 5.¹

Eur. *Andr.* 5 haud negligenda positio nominis proprii Ἀνδρομάχη : simplex enim ordo verborum fuisset Ἀνδρομάχη ζηλωτὸς cet. Praeivit Sophocles cum scriberet *O. T.* 8 ὁ πᾶσι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους καλούμενος pro eo quod est Οἰδίπους ὁ πᾶσι cet. De sede in versu nominis Ἀνδρομάχη cf. Ἀντιγόνη Soph. *O. C.* 1 ; cf. et Ἀστυνάκτ', *Andr.* 10. In verbis eis quae sunt, ζηλωτὸς ἐν γε τῷ πρὶν — Ἀνδρομάχη — χρόνῳ non desideramus sed intelligimus sententiam quam in versu insequente legimus : νῦν δ', εἴ τις ἄλλη, δυστυχεστάτη γύνῃ. At ista verba addita sunt ut inferrentur versus qui sunt 8-15 quibus bene describuntur Andromachae praesentes res adversae. His in versibus παιδοποιὸς illud v. 4 quod adhuc otiosum esse videbatur oppositum habet pueri occisi descriptio vv. 9 et 10 ; opponuntur autem versui 4 versus 14 et 15. Inest re vera in versibus 1-15 chiasmus qui dicitur pulcherrimus hunc in modum : δάμαρ δοθεῖσα (α) παιδοποιὸς (β) Ἐκτορι (γ),

¹ [MS. note.]

ζηλωτὸς ἐν γε τῷ πρὶν—χρόνῳ (δ))(νῦν δ', εἴ τις ἄλλη, δυστυχεσάτῃ γυνή (δ'), ἥτις πόσιν—Ἐκτορ' -- θανόντ' ἐσείδον (γ'), παῖδα θ' ὃν τίκτω πόσει ριφθέντα (β'), αὐτὴ δὲ δοῦλη κτέ. τῷ νησιώτῃ (cf. Ἀσιάτιδος γῆς v. 1.) Νεοπτολέμῳ δορὸς γέρας δοθείσα κτέ. (α') Omnia secundum artem.

NOTE ON EURIPIDES, *BACCHAE* 1058–1062.¹

Πενθεὺς δ' ὁ τλήμων, θῆλυν οὐχ ὁρῶν ὄχλον,
 ἔλεξε τοιάδ'· ὦ ξέν', οὐ μὲν ἔσταμεν,
 οὐκ ἐξικνοῦμαι μαινάδων † ὅσοι νόθων†·
 ὄχθον δ' ἐπεμβὰς ἢ ἐλάτῃν ὑψαύχενα
 ἴδοιμ' ἂν ὁρθῶς μαινάδων αἰσχρορργίαν.

V. 1060 is notoriously corrupt and consequently *multum et diu vexatus*. The situation is a plain one, and so is the general sense of the verse. All the conjectures down to Professor Tyrrell's are of a desperate character. They all emend both the words obelized (not designedly of course, so far as they accept Estienne's text); but the one horn of the verbal dilemma is generally grasped more tenaciously than the other. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*, and so Heath and Hermann read ὅσοις for ὅσοι: but the acceptance of νόθων was left for the latest of the ἐπίγονοι. Let us now try the justly favourite device of 'put yourself in his place' and see what Pentheus would naturally have said, or what you would have said, had you been Pentheus. Poor Pentheus! he cannot see the women; he is impatient. 'Where we stand I can't begin to see anything of the maenads. If I could only mount a hill or climb a tree I could get a fine view of the maenads' rascality.' The words however do not emphasize sufficiently, with any of the conjectures thus far offered (except Elmsley's ὅσον ποθῶ), the exertion that Pentheus has been making to no purpose—his disappointed efforts. The despairing 'I can't though I want to' does not—*mea quidem sententia* of course—come out strongly enough. Having thus tried to prepare the way, I accept ὅσοις, reject νόθων (the *nomen* is here an *omen*), and try to find another solution of the difficulty. The end of the verse must have been badly preserved indeed to admit of even a scribe's writing ὅσοι νόθων; but there must have been something there. The hypothesis of the omission of one of twain would seem necessary to explain ὅσοι for ὅσοις. But νόθων does not begin with C

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. VII (1893), p. 312.]

in the alphabet of our *dernier ressort*—nor with anything like it. But though OCCOICNOΘΩN will not serve our purpose OCCOICΘONWN will; and here I think we have the clue to the solution. Not to stretch out a long speech, I would rewrite the verse thus:

οὐκ ἐξικνεῖσθαι μαινάδων ὅσοις σθένω.

NOTES ON THE *BACCHAE* OF EURIPIDES.¹

I. Vv. 13-24.

- λιπὼν δὲ Λυδῶν τοὺς πολυχρύστους γίνας
Φρυγῶν τε Περσῶν θ' ἡλιοβλήτους πλάκας
15 Βάκτριά τε τείχῃ τήν τε δύσχιμον χθόνα
Μήδων ἐπελθὼν Ἀραβίαν τ' εὐδαίμονα
Ἀσίαν τε πᾶσαν, ἥ παρ' ἄλμυρὰν ἄλα
κείται μυγᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι βαρβάρους θ' ὁμοῦ
πλήρεις ἔχουσα καλλιπυργώτους πόλεις,
20 εἰς τήνδε πρῶτον ἦλθον Ἑλλήνων πόλιν,
κάκει χορεύσας καὶ καταστήσας ἐμὰς
τελέτας, ἵν' εἶην ἐμφανῶς δαίμων βροτοῖς.
πρώτας δὲ Θήβας τῆσδε γῆς Ἑλληνίδος
ἀνωλόλυξα κτέ.

Pierson's conjecture that v. 20 should stand between vv. 22 and 23 has met with considerable favor. It brings in its train, if accepted, Wecklein's natural and necessary change of ἐπελθὼν to ἐπῆλθον in v. 16 (with the omission of θ' after Περσῶν in v. 14), and of πόλιν to χθόνα in v. 20. It is easy to see how χθόνα was corrupted to πόλιν when v. 20 came to stand after v. 19. Furthermore, πρῶτον in v. 20 should surely be changed to πρώτην, unless we assume, after v. 22, a lacuna of a verse or verses in which a second action of Dionysus was described. Such an assumption is, however, highly improbable; for not only is Pierson's transposition intrinsically plausible, but it can be supported from another passage in the *Bacchae*, vv. 481 sq.:

HE. ἦλθες δὲ πρῶτα δεῦρ' ἄγων τὸν δαίμονα;

ΔΙ. πᾶς ἀναχορεύει βαρβάρων τὰδ' ὄργα.

In v. 481 ἦλθες πρῶτα δεῦρο = εἰς τήνδε πρώτην ἦλθες χθόνα—an obvious reminiscence of v. 20; while v. 482 is an echo of vv. 21 sq. (ἀναχορεύει = χορεύσας, ὄργα = τελετάς).

¹ [From Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. V (1894), pp. 45-48.]

as we are, as if I were your παιδαγωγός?" To which Tiresias reassuringly (v. 194): "It will be no labour, for the god will guide us thither." Then the dancing is again touched upon (v. 195) and Cadmus at length gives in (v. 197). A parallel to the question in v. 193 is afforded by the somewhat similar scene in the *Heracleidae*, where the servant says to old Iolaus (v. 729), ἡ παιδαγωγεῖν γὰρ τὸν ὀπλίτην χρεών;

6. Vv. 210 sq.

ἐπεὶ σύ φέγγος, Τειρεσία, τόδ' οὐχ ὄρᾳς,
ἐγὼ προφήτης σοι λόγων γενήσομαι.

προφήτης σοι λόγων cannot, I feel, be right. προφήτης, in its proper sense, is to be found in v. 551. The genitive with it should represent the person (god) whose mouthpiece the προφήτης is. Instead then of προφήτης σοι λόγων, I propose προσηγητὴρ λόγων "guide in words," comparing προσηγητῆρα συμφορᾶς in v. 1159. As used in respect of a blind man, προσηγητῆρ, without a special term in the genitive, would mean προσηγητῆρ ὁδοῦ (or κελεύθου); cf. the use of προσηγητής in Sophocles, *Ant.* 990, *O. T.* 1292. Euripides has προσηγητῆρ of a blind man's guide in the *Phoenix*, frag. 813, 2.

7. V. 440.

ἔμενέ τε τοῦμόν εὐπρεπὲς ποιούμενος.

Professor Tyrrell adheres to the reading of the MSS. here. "The middle with a pred. adj. must mean *making for one's self*. Now, as Dionysus was at least as much interested as the servant in the *seemliness* of the arrest, there seems no reason why we should desert the MSS., 'turning for himself my task to seemliness.'" With this I agree so far as εὐπρεπὲς ποιούμενος is concerned; τοῦμόν, however, seems harsh in such a context. I would, therefore, (without any reference to Professor Tyrrell's "my task"), correct τοῦργον.

8. Vv. 460 sq.

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μοι λέξον ὅστις εἰ γένος.

ΔΙ. οὐ κόμπος οὐδεὶς ῥάδιον δ' εἰπεῖν τόδε.

οὐ κόμπος is obviously corrupt. Boasting is not opposed to ease of any kind. The error, which arose from illegibility and wrong division of letters, is to be corrected by writing οὐκ ὄγκος οὐδέις.

Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1162, *βραχύν τιν' αἰτεῖ μῦθον οὐκ ὄγκου πλέων*. For the general expression, cf. Demosthenes, vi, 4, *ῥάδιον καὶ πόνος οὐδεὶς πρόσεστι τῷ πράγματι*, and *Bacch.* 613, *ῥαδίως ἄνευ πόνου*.

9. V. 688.

θηρᾶν καθ' ὕλην Κύπριν ἡρημωμένας.

This verse is very awkward and disturbing after v. 687. It seems to have been added, with reference to vv. 222 sq., by some one who wanted to bring the two passages into closer agreement.

10. Vv. 1088 sq.

ὁ δ' αὖθις ἐπεκέλευσεν · ὡς δ' ἐγνώρισαν

σαφῇ (? σαφῶς) κελευσμὸν Βακχίου Κάδμου κόραι, κτέ.

ἐπεκέλευσεν followed in the next verse by *κελευσμὸν* is at least noticeable. Perhaps Euripides may have so written; I suspect, however, that he wrote *ἐπεθώυξεν*, the future of which occurs in *I. T.* 1127, though in a different context. In favor of *ἐπεθώυξεν* here, followed (in vv. 1090 sq.) by *ἦξαν πελείας ὠκύτητ' οὐχ ἥσσονα* (em. Heath) | *ποδῶν ἔχουσαι συντόνοιςδρομήμασι*, are the words (vv. 871 sq.) *θώυσσων δὲ κυναγέτας | συντείνῃδρομήμακυνῶν*. Cf. also vv. 1188-91, and Soph. *O. C.* 1623-5.

NOTES ON THE *HECUBA*.¹

19 sq. *καλῶς παρ' ἀνδρὶ Θρηκὶ πατρίφω ξένω*

τροφαῖσιν ὡς τις πτόρθος ἠξέομην τάλας.

τάλας I believe to be wrong. Everything is pictured in the most favourable colours from v. 16 to v. 20. Polydorus's 'wretchedness' begins after the events narrated in vv. 21-24, and then he does call himself 'wretched' (*τὸν ταλαίπωρον* v. 25). I would read in v. 20 *μέγας*, comparing *Bacch.* 183 (*αὔξεσθαι μέγαν*). Thus too is the comparison with *πτόρθος* properly carried out. (The *locus classicus* for such comparison is Hom. *Od.* vi. 162 sq.)

153. *φοινισσομένην αἵματι παρθένον*.

A most inharmonious verse. We should, I think, reverse the order of words and read *παρθένον αἵματι φοινισσομένην*.

585 sq. *ὦ θύγατερ, οὐκ οἶδ' εἰς ὃ τι βλέψω κακῶν*

πολλῶν παρόντων · ἦν γὰρ ἄψωμαί τινος,

τόδ' οὐκ ἐγὼ με, παρακαλεῖ δ' ἐκείθεν αὖ

λύπη τις ἄλλη διάδοχος κακῶν κακοῖς.

¹ [From 'Euripidean Notes', the Classical Review, Vol. VII (1893), pp. 345-346.]

Something is certainly wrong with τόδ' οὐκ ἐὰ με. 'If I have laid hold of any (evil), *this does not allow me*, but I am called off by another grief in another quarter.' What 'does not allow'? The evil seized? Nonsense. 'Does not allow me'—to do what? To keep hold of it (ἐχεσθαι)? Nonsense again. To be brief, I emend thus:

ἦν γὰρ ἄπτωμαί τινος,
τόδ' οὐκ ἐῶμαι, παρακαλεῖ δ' κτέ.

'If I seek to grasp any (evil, grief), this I am not allowed (to do, *i. e.* ἄψασθαι implied in what precedes), but am called off' &c. ἄπτωμαι became ἄψωμαι under the influence of βλέπω above it. τόδε is, of course, acc. of inner object w. ἐῶμαι.

833 sq. τὸν θανόντα τόνδ' ὀράς ;
τοῦτον καλῶς δρῶν ὄντα κηδεστὴν σέθεν
δράσεις.

'ὄντα, for τὸν ὄντα. The omission of the article is deserving of notice. Compare Aesch. *Cho.* 353, *Pers.* 247.' (Paley.) What is 'deserving of notice' is the utter weakness and insipidity of ὄντα, and also the fact that it stands under -όντα in the preceding verse. It is, of course, an error. Read ἄνδρα.

882. σὺν ταῖσδε τὸν ἐμὸν φονέα τιμωρήσομαι.

τὸν ἐμὸν φονέα is a somewhat strange expression (though, of course, poetically possible) for the murderer of one's child; besides the successive tribrachs make a bad verse. I would suggest τέκνον φονέα. The affectionate tone of τέκνον is eminently appropriate here.

1293-5 ἵτε πρὸς λιμένας σκηνάς τε, φίλαι,
τῶν δεσποσύνων πειρασόμεναι
μόχθων· στερρὰ γὰρ ἀνάγκη.

That δεσποσύνων has maintained itself, as it seems to have done, *criticis intactum*, is perhaps due to its position at that point where the reader is ready to lay down the play. I have no hesitation in writing in its stead δουλοσύνων: cf. v. 448 sq. (also of the chorus) τῷ δουλόσυνος πρὸς οἶκον | κτηθεῖσ' ἀφίξομαι.

NOTES ON THE HERACLEIDAE.¹

3. ὁ δ' εἰς τὸ κέρδος λῆμ' ἔχων ἀναιμένον.

Read ἀνημμένον 'made fast', a familiar nautical metaphor: cf. *Med.*

¹ [From 'Euripidean Notes', the *Classical Review*, Vol. VII (1893), p. 344.]

770 ἐκ τοῦδ' ἀναψόμεσθα πρυμνήτην κάλων. The construction of εἰς c. acc. occurs *Rhoen.* 569 ἀμαθείς Ἀδραστος χάριτας εἷς σ' ἀνήψατο.

280 sq. λαμπρὸς δ' ἀκούσας σὴν ὕβριν φανήσεται
σοὶ καὶ πολίταις γῆ τε τῇδε καὶ φυτοῖς.

Read λυπρὸς for λαμπρὸς and cf. *Med.* 301 κρείσσων νομισθεὶς λυπρὸς ἐν πόλει φανεί. By the opposite confusion λυπρὸς appears for λαμπρὸς in *Bacch.* 814, where Mr. Palmer has anticipated me in the conjecture.

NOTES ON THE *HERCULES FURENS*.¹

195. ὅσοι δὲ τόξους χεῖρ' ἔχουσιν εὖστοχον.

Read ὅσοι δὲ χερσὶ τόξ' ἔχουσιν εὖστοχα.

Cf. *Hel.* 76, εὖστόχῳ πτέρῳ.

445 sqq. ἄλοχόν τε φίλην ὑπὸ σειραίοις
ποσὶν ἔλκουσαν τέκνα καὶ γεραιὸν
πατέρ' Ἡρακλέους.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff maintains the integrity of the traditional text here, and in this I am not disposed to differ from him; but his notes on vv. 445 and 447 seem to contain such strange things as to demand more than a passing notice. They run thus: "ὑπὸ ποσὶν sind die kinder, wie man in stehender formel sage, dass die rosse ὑφ' ἄρμασιν sind, 'unten an'. Die wendung kam Eur. wol, weil er ein ähnliches bild wählte, obwol die kinder nicht ziehen, sondern gezogen werden. [One might think this a decidedly disturbing element in the picture!] Megaras füsse sind für die kinder σείραιοι, weil sie mit den eignen nicht vorwärts kommen. [A glance at the scene of the children's murder, vv. 971 sqq., will prove that they were somewhat more active on their feet than that.] Denn wenn die jochpferde nicht genügen, so spannt man ein leinpferd, σείραιος, daneben, so tut es Patroklos, II 152. *Orest.* 1016 kommt Pylades und stützt den kranken Orestes, ἰθύνων νοσερὸν κῶλον Ὀρέστου ποδὶ κηδοσύνῃ παράσειρος... 'πατέρα hängt natürlich [unless my reading has been of none effect, I should say 'ganz unnatürlich'] von ὀρῶ [ἐσορῶ] ab, nicht von ἔλκουσαν.' [But certainly the well-nigh bedridden old man is in more need of a παράσειρος than the children.] If any one but the author of these notes can be satisfied with them—εὐτυχοίη.

¹ [From 'Euripidean Notes', the *Classical Review*, Vol. VII (1893), pp. 344-346.]

The real interpretation of the passage, I think, though perhaps I too may be an 'unskilful physician', is to be gathered from such passages as *H. F.* 631 sq. (ἄξω λαβών γε τοῦσδ' ἐφορκίδας χεροῖν, | ναῦς δ' ὡς ἐφέλεξω), 1424 (Θησεῖ πανώλεις ἐψόμεσθ' ἐφορκίδες), *Androm.* 199 sq. (πότερον ἢν' αὐτὴ παῖδας ἀντὶ σοῦ τέκῳ | δούλους ἐμαντῇ τ' ἀθλίαν ἐφορκίδας). The figure then is drawn from the favourite province of Euripides—the sea. The children and the old man are ἐφορκίδες in the wake of Megara. (Cf. Wilamowitz's instructive note on *H. F.* 631). But what shall we say to ὑπὸ σειραίοις ποσὶν? The adjective, I think, tells the story. It is just this element that keeps us (or kept the original hearers) from thinking of Megara's feet at all. ποσὶν here = πείσμασιν, as in *Hec.* 1019 sq. (καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι νεῶν | λύσαι ποθοῦσιν οἴκαδ' ἐκ Τροίας πόδα, where πόδα seems pretty clearly meant = πρυμνήσιον πείσμα. The σείραισι πόδες are, then, the lines that keep the ἐφορκίδες in tow, and ὑπὸ σ. π. ἔλκουσαν=ἐφέλκουσαν. With σειραίοις ποσὶν cf. the δέσμα σειραίων βρόχων with which Heracles is 'moored to a column' (ἀνήπτομεν πρὸς κίον) in v. 1009.

667 sq. ἴσον αὖτ' ἐν νεφέλαισιν ἄ-
στρων ναύταις ἀριθμὸς πέλει.

Read rather *πρέπει* than *πέλει*. Cf. *Soph. Antig.* 478, where for *ἐκπέλει* Blaydes reads *οὖν πρέπει*: I would read *εὐπεπές*.

NOTES ON THE *HIPPOLYTUS*.

1-2.¹ In *Hipp.* 1-2, the harsh order of the words has led many to misunderstand them, M. Weil and Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff being honorable exceptions. The verses are of course to be understood as equivalent to: Πολλὴ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσιν οὐρανοῦ τ' ἔσω κέκλημαι θεὰ Κύpris (πολλὴ κέκλημαι=μέγα ἔχω τὸ ὄνομα) κοῦκ ἀνώνυμός <εἰμι>.

43-46.² Multorum apud veteres scriptores tum latinos tum graecos locorum perverse iniecta interpunctione detortum atque obscuratum esse sensum non huius temporis neque omnino necesse est ut admo-
neam. Unum tantum ex ingenti numero hic repurgare conabor. Est is locus *Eur. Hipp.* 43-46, ubi in omnibus quaecumque mihi quidem innotuerunt editionibus post γέρας vocabulum virgula intrusa est,

¹ [From the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXXII (1901), p. xxix.]

² [From *Mnemosyne* XXX (1902), p. 136.]

quae si sublata erit, statim et verus verborum atque sententiarum contextus emerget et correctione levissima illa quidem versum 46 sanandum esse comparebit. Totum de quo agitur locum hunc in modum scribendum esse censeo:

καὶ τὸν μὲν ἡμῖν πολέμιον νεανίαν
κτενεῖ πατὴρ ἀραῖσιν ἃς ὁ πόντιος
ἄναξ Ποσειδῶν ὤπασεν Ἐησεῖ γέρας
μηδὲν ματαίους ἐς τρεῖς εὐξασθαι θεῶ,

sensus autem est: *et infensum illum nobis iuvenem interficiet pater precibus quibus marinus ille rex Neptunus honoris causa Theseo concessit ut minime irritis ter adiret deum.* Vix admonendos esse lectores arbitror vocabulum quod est θεῶ eodem modo pro αὐτῷ positum esse atque supra illud Ἐησεῖ. Ex mente loquentis vel, ut recentiorum philosophorum dicendi ratione utar, obiective non subiective utrumque dictum.

294.¹ γυναῖκες αἰδε συγκαθιστάναί νόσον.

Notwithstanding Wecklein's expressed and Wilamowitz's tacit support of the text, I cannot make myself believe that γυναῖκες is right. It seems to me to have supplanted, as gloss, another word, viz. πάρεσιν.

A CRITICAL NOTE ON EURIPIDES, ION 1-3.²

*Ἄτλας ὁ χαλκίοισι νότοις οὐρανὸν
θεῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον ἐκτρίβων θεῶν
μῆς ἔφυσε Μαῖαν, ἥ κτέ.

In these verses the following peculiarities have arrested the attention of critics:—

(1) The laboured rhythm of the first verse—particularly the violation of the Porsonian rule of the 'final cretic';

(2) The remarkable use of ἐκτρίβων;

(3) The occurrence of the word θεῶν at the beginning and end of v. 2;

(4) The construction of simple genitive, instead of genitive with ἐκ, with ἔφυσε.

In order to get rid of the 'final cretic' in v. 1, Badham suggested

¹ [From 'Euripidean Notes', the Classical Review, Vol. VII (1893), p. 344.]

[From the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXV (1894), pp. lxiii-lxiv.]

νότοισιν πόλον, Nauck (followed by van Herwerden) νότοισιν φέρων. Were we to adopt the latter reading, we should assume that οὐρανὸν was originally a gloss on θεῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον. If, however, we follow Hermann's view (as expounded in his *Elementa Doctrinae Metricae*, I. viii.), we shall regard Euripides as having employed an allowable license "in descriptione rei magni moliminis plenae," and treat v. 1 as metrically sound.

Of ἐκτρίβων θεῶν Nauck says (in his *annotatio critica*, Teubner text-edition): "verba nondum emendata. Sententiam si spectes, ἐκ τῶν Ὀκεανίδων μιᾶς requiritur." W. Dindorf (followed by van Herwerden) changes ἐκτρίβων to ἐκ τριῶν. Atlas had three wives. (See p. v. of Dindorf's preface to the Leipsic edition of his text of Sophocles, 1867.) But van Herwerden, in order to make Euripides's Hermes quite explicit (and, incidentally, to get rid of one of the θεῶν's), not only transfers (with Dindorf, *loc. cit.*, p. vi.) μιᾶς to the close of v. 2, but replaces it in v. 3 by ἀλόχων. Thus the disputed passage runs in van Herwerden's text as follows:

Ἄτλας, ὃ χαλκίοισι νότοισιν φέρων
θεῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον, ἐκ τριῶν μιᾶς
ἀλόχων ἔφυσε Μαῖαν, ἧ κτέ.

This, notwithstanding the ἀλόχων, is certainly better than Dindorf's

Ἄτλας ὃ χαλκόνωτος οὐρανὸν θεῶν
ὀχῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον ἐκ τριῶν μιᾶς
θεῶν ἔφυσε Μαῖαν, κτέ.

Let us turn now to the examination of a word that has thus far run the gauntlet, though to it, in my belief, is due, in great measure, the corruption of v. 2. This is the word οἶκον. In v. 15 the two MSS. of our play contain the same word in the same place (γαστροῦς διήνεγκ' οἶκον). This, as was seen long ago by Brodaeus (and it did not need much penetration to see it), is a corruption of ὄγκον (ΟΓΚΟΝ with carelessly written Γ, misread and miscopied—perhaps partly under the influence of οἶκοις in v. 16). Let us now substitute ὄγκον for οἶκον in v. 2 and observe the result. Instead of an "ancient house" we have an "ancient mass", and θεῶν at the beginning of v. 2 at once appears in the guise of an explanatory gloss on παλαιὸν οἶκον—an answer to the natural query: Whose "ancient house"? For θεῶν we readily substitute φέρων, comparing διήνεγκ' ὄγκον in v. 15 (we need hardly think of Nauck's emendation of v. 1). Thus we

have Atlas described as "he that on brazen shoulders bears heaven, an ancient mass". This can hardly be right, unless (though it seems scarcely justifiable) we understand ὄγκον as precisely = ἄχθος ("his ancient burden"). I would, therefore, accepting Hermann's defence of the metre of v. 1, make a slight change in the last word of that verse, and read οὐρανοῦ. It is then "he that on brazen shoulders bears heaven's ancient mass".

For ἐκτρίβων Dindorf's ἐκ τριῶν seems to be quite right. ἐκτρίβων is due, if my emendation of οἶκον be sound, to somebody's attempt to construe the passage after θεῶν had ousted φέρων.

There is no need of bringing τριῶν and μιᾶς together; for if it be urged that the contrast of τριῶν and μιᾶς makes it more natural that the two words stand side by side, we may answer that Euripides is hinting at what he conceived to be the etymology of Μαῖα; hence μιᾶς ἔφυσε Μαῖαν.

The whole passage, then, I would read thus:

Ἄτλας, ὁ χαλκίοισι νώτοις οὐρανοῦ
φέρων παλαιὸν ὄγκον, ἐκ τριῶν θεῶν
μιᾶς ἔφυσε Μαῖαν, ἣ κτέ.

NOTES ON THE IPHIGENIA TAURICA.¹

285-290. Πυλάδῃ, δέδορκας τήνδε; τήνδε δ' οὐχ ὀρᾷς
Ἄιδου δράκαιναν, ὥς με βούλεται κτανεῖν
δειναῖς ἐχίδναις εἰς ἔμ' ἐστομωμένη;
ἣ δ' ἐκ χιτώνων πῦρ πνέουσα καὶ φόνον
πτεροῖς ἐρέσσει, μητέρ' ἀγκάλαις ἐμὴν
ἔχουσα, πέτρινον ὄχθον, ὥς ἐπεμβάλη.

In these verses two points deserve notice. First, the words ἐκ χιτώνων (v. 288), which appear to have offended the editors generally, with the exception of Seidler and Nauck, may be illustrated by Aesch. *Choeph.* 1048 sq. φαιοχίτωνες (qu. φαιχίτωνες?) καὶ πεπλεκτανημένοι πυκνοῖς δράκουσιν, a passage which Euripides seems to have had in mind when writing that under consideration, and to have endeavoured to improve on by substituting for πεπλεκτανημένοι πυκνοῖς δράκουσιν the graphic δειναῖς ἐχίδναις ἐστομωμένη. Likewise, for the rather neutral term φαιοχίτωνες he gives us the vivid image

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. VI (1892), pp. 226-227.]

of a fury emitting fire and blood (cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 1058) from her garments as she flies.

Secondly, the word *ῥχθον* (v. 290) was emended by Heimsoeth to *ῥγκον*. But we certainly look for a term here in apposition to *μητέρα* (v. 289), for which purpose neither *ῥχθον* nor *ῥγκον* seems appropriate. Write rather *ἄχθος*, an emendation strongly supported by Aesch. *Prom.* 350, *ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον*.

1393. *λάβρω κλύδωνι συμπεσοῦς' ἡπείγετο*.

The verb *ἡπείγετο* here is quite unsuitable.

The passages from Homer cited in support of it are contrary to Euripides's constant usage. Cf. *Or.* 799, *Heracl.* 732, *Phoen.* 1280 (active), *Or.* 1258, *Alc.* 255, *Alc.* 1152, *Heracl.* 734, *Ion* 1258, *H. F.* 586, *Phoen.* 1171, *Hipp.* 1185, *Antioch.* fr. 183 (Nauck) (middle), in all which passages the verb expresses acceleration or haste. Nor does Pierson's conjecture *ἐπείχετο* seem entirely satisfactory. Read rather *ἀπείργετο*. Cf. *Hel.* 1268, *πόσον δ' ἀπείργει μῆκος ἐκ γαίας δόρυ*; *Alc.* 255 is also instructive.

1408. *ἄλλος δὲ πλεκτὰς ἐξανῆπτεν ἀγκύλας*.

MSS. *ἐξανῆπτεν ἀγκύρας*, contra metrum, emended as above. However, I suspect the reading to have been *ἐξανῆκεν ἀγκύλας*, corrupted by reference to v. 1351. Cf. *Androm.* 718, *πλεκτὰς ἱμάντων στροφίδας ἐξανήσομαι*.

567.¹ *ὁ τοῦ θανόντος δ' ἔστι παῖς Ἄργει πατρός*;

The arrangement of the three last words of this verse is to me intolerably harsh, even obscure, and I cannot believe them to have been so placed by Euripides. Rather *ἔστ' ἔτ' Ἄργει παῖς πατρός*;

725 sq.¹ *ἀπέλθεθ' ὑμεῖς καὶ παρεντρεπίζετε
τᾶνδον μολόντες τοῖς ἐφεστώσι σφαγῇ*.

μολόντες in v. 726 is doubly objectionable: (1) it is otiose after *ἀπέλθεθ'* in v. 725; (2) it could properly stand where it does, only if instead of *τᾶνδον* we had *e.g.* *ἔσω* (unless we are to understand *ἔσω* from *ἔνδον*); but then *παρεντρεπίζετε* would lack an object, which it seems to require. I would therefore write *μέλοντα*, comparing v. 624 (*ἔσω δόμων τῶνδ' εἰσὶν οἷς μέλει τάδε*) and v. 470 sq. (*ναοῦ δ' ἔσω στείχοντες εὐτρεπίζετε | ἂν χρὴ 'πὶ τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ νομίζεται*). The sense is then:

¹ [From 'Euripidean Notes', the Classical Review, Vol. VII (1893), p. 345.]

‘Aid those who have charge of the sacrificial act in making ready the matters within (the temple) which are in their charge.’

Ad Euripides *Iphigeniam Tauricam*, vv. 1351-3.¹

De loco vexato necdum emendato Eurip. I. T. 1351-3 pauca quaedam habeo quae referam nova. Mihi enim versum 1352 data opera consideranti omnesque quae in manibus erant eruditorum coniecturas deliberanti ac versibus qui secuntur diligenter animum advertenti remedium tandem sese obtulit illud, ut mutato versuum 1352-3 ordine lectionem sic constituerem:

οἱ δὲ κλίμακας
πόντῳ δίδόντες τῇ ξένῃ καθίεσαν
σπουδῇ τ' ἐσῆγον διὰ χερῶν πρυμνήσια.

Nam versum 1352 haud temere textu qui dicitur movendum esse lucide docent mea quidem sententia verba *εἰχόμεσθα τῆς ξένης πρυμνήσιων τε* (1355-6). Sed hanc sententiam ut integram explicem necesse totam scenam qualem auditori ob oculos ponere voluerit nuntius quoad possim enarrem. Vidit enim navem iam remis rite instructam remigesque ad laborem paratos (1346-8) ac iuvenes Orestem Pylademque ad puppim stantes (1348-9), dum nautae partim contis proram retinent, partim ancoram tollunt, partim scalam in usum Iphigeniae—nam quid adolescentibus agilibus cum tali ad navem praesertim *πεντηκόντορον* escendendam auxilio?—demittunt atque per festinationem *πρυμνήσια* iam iam soluturi sunt (1352-3). Quae conspicati Tauri statim decurrunt et non solum Iphigeniae sed etiam *πρυμνήσιους* illis manus iniciunt (1354-6). Tota iam pictura summatim enucleata restat ut de emendationibus singulis rationem quam brevissime reddam. Conieci igitur confuso ordine versuum 1352-3 verbum *διδόντες* (quam emendationem iam saepius temptatam omnibus notum) in formam δὲ *δόντες* mutatum esse et in versu 1352 participium *σπεύδοντες* coniunctione per ordinis mutationem otiosa facta ex terminationis similitudine illius *διδόντες* praveque intellectis litteris *ΤΕΣ* (*σπουδῇ ΤΕΣ*) ortum esse. Accedit quod hunc in modum constitutis versibus et collocationis verborum eius quae vulgo chiasmus appellatur pulcherrimum habemus exemplum, hoc est: (a) *κόντοισ*—*πρῶραν εἶχον*, (b) *οἱ δ' ἐπωτίδων ἄγκυραν ἐξανήπτον*, (b) *οἱ δὲ κλίμακας*—*καθίεσαν*, (a) *ἐσῆγον*—*πρυμνήσια*; et verba *τῇ ξένῃ* (qua de

¹ [From the American Journal of Philology, Vol. XIII (1892), p. 87.]

probabili emendatione codicum verborum τὴν ξένην iam obiter dixi^{re} neque est cur longius disseram) et *πρυμνήσια* in versibus qui secuntur τῆς ξένης πρυμνησιῶν τε (1355-6) aptissime repetuntur.

NOTES ON EURIPIDES'S *PHOENISSAE*.¹

The recent publication of Professor Wecklein's valuable edition of Euripides's *Phoenissae* (Leipsic, 1894) has prompted me to put forth certain conjectural emendations upon the text of that play. For the sake of perspicuity and brevity I place the reading I would suggest at the head of each of the following notes:

208-213. Ἴόνιον κατὰ πόντον ἐλά-
τα πλεύσασα περιρρύτων
ὑπὲρ ἀκαρπίστων πεδίῳ
ἐναλίαις Ζεφύρον πνοαῖς,
οὗ πνεύσαντος ἐν οὐρανῷ
κάλλιστον κελάδῃμα.

"Having sailed down the Ionian sea in a ship, over the watery (*περιρρύτων*) unharvested plains, by the sea-breaths of Zephyr whose breath in the sky causes fairest melody."—V. 211 *Σικελίας* Wecklein with the MSS. V. 212 *ἱππεύσαντος* Wecklein with the MSS.—The emendation *ἐναλίαις* (which may be supported by *Hel.* 1459 sq. κατὰ μὲν ἰστία πετάσαι' αὐ- | ραῖς λιπόντες ἐναλίαις: we must remember too the Homeric expression that Euripides seems to have had in mind, ἀκραῇ Ζέφυρον κελάδοντ' ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον) helps to get rid of that troublesome circumnavigation of the Peloponnese. Did Ἴόνιον πόντον help to bring in *Σικελίας*? We naturally think of Πάφον in *Bacch.* 406.—The emendation οὗ πνεύσαντος makes the aorist participle intelligible in an ingressive sense. Wecklein's comma after *ἱππεύσαντος* and change of οὐρανῷ to ἀρμένῃ do not satisfy.

473-477. ἐγὼ δὲ—πατὴρ γὰρ δόμων προῖσκεψάμην
τοῦμόν τε καὶ τοῦδ'—ἐκφυγεῖν χρήζων ἀρὰς,
ὡς Οἰδίπους ἐφθέγγεατ' εἰς ἡμᾶς ποτε,
ἐξῆλθον ἔξω τῆσδ' ἐκὼν αὐτὸς χθονὸς,
δοὺς τῷδ' ἀνάσσειν πατρίδος ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλον, κτέ.

Professor Wecklein reads *δωμάτων* with the MSS. in 473 and follows Hartung and Paley in bracketing v. 476. The awkwardness

¹[From the *Classical Review*, Vol. IX (1895), pp. 13-14.]

of this is patent.—The corruption of γὰρ δόμων to δωμάτων seems due (in part at least) to φαρμάκων in v. 472.

504. ἄστρον ἂν ἔλθοιμ' ἡ δ' ἐως πρὸς ἀντολὰς κτέ.

The ἄστρον ἂν ἔλθοιμ' ἡλίον of the MSS. is changed by Professor Wecklein to ἄνω τ' ἂν ἔλθοιμ' ἡλίον—a desperate guess.—The corruption ἡλίον seems chiefly due to Δ read as Λ.

703 sq. ἤκουσα μείζον αὐτὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν,
κῆδει τ' Ἀδράστου καὶ στρατῷ πεποιθότα.

703. ἡ θήβας (for εἰς ἡμᾶς) MSS., ἡ θνητὸν Wecklein, after Kinkel. Professor Wecklein had also thought of εἰς Θήβας.—εἰς ἡμᾶς (for which a partial support is to be found in *Hērō*. 6 ὅσοι φρονοῦσιν εἰς ἡμᾶς μέγα) is palaeographically possible enough, a combination of uncial and minuscule blunders readily producing ἡ Θήβας. The comparative too played its part.

740 sq. τί δῆτα δρῶμεν; ἀπορία γὰρ, εἰ μὲν ὦ.

The ἀπορίαν γὰρ οὐ μένω of the MSS. and Wecklein is certainly much less effective. The corruption is of a familiar type.

747. ἀμφότερον· ἀποληφθὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν θάτερον.

'Both; for either taken by itself is nothing'.—ἀμφότερον· ἀπολειφθὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν θάτερον MSS., ἀμφότερ'· ἐν ἀπολειφθὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν θατέρου Wecklein.

881–883. πολλοὶ δὲ νεκροὶ περὶ νεκροῖς πεπτωκότες,
'Αργεῖα καὶ Καδμεία μ<ε>ίξαντες μ<ε>λη,
πικροὺς γόους δώσουσι Θηβαίᾳ χθονί.

In v. 882 Professor Wecklein reads with the MSS. μίξαντες βέλη.—The correction μέλη has already been suggested in the Critical Appendix to my edition of the *Alcestis* (on v. 304).

947. οὗτος δὲ πῶλος τῇδ' ἀνημμένος πόλει κτέ.

Professor Wecklein, with the MSS., ἀνεμμένος ('hingegeben, dargebracht'). Does not 'attached to' seem more natural in view of the context?

1134–1138. The following transposition (with one slight emendation) I venture to offer as a possible solution of a difficulty:

ταῖς δ' ἐβδόμαις Ἀδραστος ἐν πύλαισιν ἦν	1134
ὑδρας ἔχων λαιοῖσιν ἐν βραχίουσιν	1136
'Αργεῖον αὔχημ' ἀσπίδ' ἐκπληροῦν γραφῇ	1137 and 1135
ἐκατὸν ἐχιδνῶν· ἐκ δὲ τειχέων μέσων	1135 and 1137
δράκοντες ἔφερον τέκνα Καδμείων γνάθοις.	1138

1135. ἐκπληρῶν MSS. and Wecklein, ἐκπληροῦν Geel. The readings ἐχιδναῖς (under ἐβδόμους) and ἐκπληρῶν might well be due to the position of v. 1135.—Professor Wecklein keeps the MSS. order but brackets γραφή and ἔχων λαιοῖσιν ἐν βραχίουσιν. 'Die eingeschlossenen Worte,' he writes, 'welche die Konstruktion stören, scheinen interpoliert zu sein'.

1193. ἔθρψκον ἐξέπιπτον ἀντύγων ἄπο, κτέ
ἐθνησκον, ἐξέπιπτον Wecklein with the MSS.

1233 sq. ὑμεῖς δ' ἄγων' ἀφέντες οἰκείαν χθόνα
νίσσεσθε κτέ.

The best MSS. read 'Αργεῖοι χθόνα: two inferior MSS., 'Αργείαν χθόνα.¹ Professor Wecklein, adopting a conjecture of J. Weidgen, reads 'Αργεῖοι, πάλιν (for his opinion about the last word in v. 1232 see the Appendix.)—In support of my conjecture I would cite Soph. *Ant.* 1203. 'Αργεῖοι seems due to v. 1238, just as in Eur. *I. T.* 588 ἀγγεῖλαι is due to the occurrence of the same word in the same place in v. 582. ('Αργείαν may well be, as Kirchhoff thought, a late correction, though possibly a gloss on οἰκείαν.)

NOTES ON THE SUPPLICES.²

232–237. νέους παραχθείς, οἷτινες τιμώμενοι
χαίρουσι πολέμους τ' αὐξάνουσ' ἄνευ δίκης,
φθείροντες ἀστούς, ὁ μὲν ὅπως στρατηλατῇ,
ὁ δ' ὡς ὑβρίζῃ δύναμιν ἐς χεῖρας λαβών,
ἄλλος δὲ κέρδους οὐνεκ', οὐκ ἀποσκοπῶν
τὸ πλῆθος εἴ τι βλάπτεται πάσχον τάδε.

This passage is interesting as an illustration of a feature common to Euripides and Thucydides, though by no means confined to them—the use of synonymous constructions which to their minds were evidently entirely equivalent. We have here three expressions of finality: (1) ὅπως στρατηλατῇ, (2) ὡς ὑβρίζῃ, (3) κέρδους οὐνεκα=ὡς (ὅπως) κερδαίνῃ. Cf. such passages as Thuc. 1.37,4 (οὐχ ἵνα

¹ 'ἀργείαν, quod est Ald. et recentiorum, videtur etiam esse in b c. ea correctura mihi videtur manifesta', writes Kirchhoff. The MS. c=Laurentianus (Kirch. Florentinus) 31, 10. Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (who designates it as O) gives a good account of this MS. in the case of the *Hippolytus* (see his edition of that play p. 181). I do not know whether Kirchhoff's 'videtur' has been verified.

² [From 'Euripidean Notes', the Classical Review, Vol. VII (1893), pp. 150–152.]

μὴ ξυναδικήσωσιν—, ἀλλ' ὅπως—ἀδικῶσι, καὶ ὅπως—βιάζονται), i. 73, 1 (οὐ—ἀντεροῦντες—, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ—βουλευθήσθε, καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενοι—δηλῶσαι). The feature of style just noted, which is but one phase of a more general characteristic—a constant striving to vary the form of expression—is far-reaching in Thucydides and has been rightly described by Mahaffy, as it appears in the speeches, as “a crowding of curious and distorted aphorisms about some leading idea, which is reiterated in all sorts of forms”. I cannot accept Wilamowitz's view, that the “synonymik” of Prodicus was “seriously employed” by Thucydides (Eur. *Herakl.* i, p. 27); for the peculiarity of Prodicus's theory (vide Plat. *Protag.*, particularly 337 A-C) is the hair-splitting tendency of all “synonymik”, whereas Thucydides uses a variety of expressions with (apparently) no conscious distinction; nay, he goes so far as to stretch the meaning of an expression or word in order to use it as a synonym for variety's sake. Cf. e. g. vi. 54, 3 ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἀξιώσεως ('quantum pro sua auctoritate poterat' Classen), where ἀξιώσεως = δυνάμεως is employed because of τὴν ἱπάρχον δύναμιν just before. Thucydides is a synonym-monger in quite a different sense from Prodicus. What Thucydides has in common with Prodicus, Euripides and the other sophists, is rather an extreme self-consciousness in the use of language.—To return to the passage in hand, it may be further noted that the MSS. reading πάσχον seems preferable to the emendation of Kirchhoff and Wilamowitz, πάσχει. Young men πολέμους αὐξάνουσι for various purposes: one, ὅπως στρατηλατῇ; another, ὡς ὑβρίξῃ δύναμιν ἐς χεῖρας λαβών; another to make gain. Why add πάσχει τὰδε? He experiences, is made the victim of—what? Were such an expression as πάσχει τὰδε to appear on a page of Thucydides in such a context, editors of the Cobetian school would long ago have enclosed it 'uncis quadratis'. It should at least be πράσσει τὰδε. It is the πλῆθος which suffers, βλάπτεται πάσχον τὰδε, i. e. the various ὕβρεις of the νέοι.—With this passage we may compare Thucydides vi. 12, 2 and also vi. 15 (character of Alcibiades and the νεώτεροι). On our Euripidean passage Paley notes: “There can be little doubt, from the tone of this passage, that Euripides had some particular party or person in view, whom he regarded as chiefly responsible for the continuance of the disastrous war,—some Lamachus, Demosthenes or Cleon, whose ambitions he desired to rebuke”. The similarity of the pas-

sages in Thucydides just cited to the verses of Euripides is striking,—if nothing more. Cf. particularly *τιμώμενοι χαίρουσι* = *ἄρχειν ἄσμενος αἰρεθείς* (Thuc. vi. 12, 2. cf. *τιμῶμαι ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου* *ibid.* 9, 2); *οὐκ ἄποσκοπῶν τὸ πλῆθος κτέ* = *τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον σκοπῶν* (Thuc. vi. 12, 2); *κέρδους οὐνεκα* = *διὰ δὲ πολυτέλειαν καὶ ὠφελήθη* *τι ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς* (Thuc. *loc. cit.*; the *ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς* is to be compared with *ὅπως στρατηλατῇ* in Eurip.); *ὡς ὑβρίζῃ δύναμιν ἐς χεῖρας λαβών* = *ὦν γὰρ ἐν ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μεῖζουσιν ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν ἐχρήτο* *ἐς τε τὰς ἵπποτροφίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δαπάνας* (Thuc. vi. 15, 3). To endeavour to establish anything beyond an 'accidental' resemblance between the Euripidean and Thucydidean passages would perhaps be unjustifiable. That there [is] however a striking³ similiarity no one can deny.

253–256. οὔτοι δικαστὴν σ' εἰλόμην ἔργων ἐμῶν,
οὐδ' εἴ τι πράξας μὴ καλῶς εὐρίσκομαι
τούτων κολαστὴν κάπιτιμητὴν, ἀναξ,
ἀλλ' ὡς ὀναίμην.

The variance of construction in this passage resembles that in the former and furnishes an excellent instance of final apposition. Moreover, it proves that the writer himself was conscious of the final force. (Of course the 'final force' of any subordinate construction is not to be regarded as necessarily originally inherent in it.) Were we to attempt to bring the sentence before us into uniformity, we must either write *ὡς βοηθόν* (a word which Euripides does not, I think, employ), or, better, *ὡς δικάζοις* — *ὡς κολάζοις κάπιτιμῶνς*, or even employ fut. participles with *ὡς*. It is not difficult to find other instances of final apposition, though I have no other example to cite in which the varying from final appositive to final clause shows the author so fully conscious of the finality in the appositional construction. Cf. e. g. Thuc. i. 53, 4 *βοηθοὶ ἤλθομεν* (= *βοηθοῦντες* or *βοηθήσοντες* *ἤλθομεν*: cf. *ib.* 63, 2 *προῆλθον ὡς βοηθήσοντες*); *ib.* 94, 1 *στρατηγὸς—ἐξέπεμψθη*; *ib.* 95, 6 *ἐκπέμπουσιν ἄρχοντα* (cf. *ib.* 109, 2 *πέμπει—ἄνδρα—, ὅπως—ἀπαγάγοι*). In all these cases, as well as in our Euripidean passage, a final clause containing the cognate verb in the subjunctive might easily have been written. Indeed, it is the verbal force felt in such substantives that renders them readily nominal equivalents of verbal expressions. One is surprised to observe that this mode of indicating finality finds no mention among the many varieties cited in the first section

of Widmann's excellent and careful dissertation *De Finalium Enun-
tiationum Usu Thucydideo* (Gött. 1875).

899 sq. πολλοὺς δ' ἐραστὰς κάπο θηλειῶν † ὄσας
ἔχων κτέ.

Canter emended ἴσας, which would naturally suggest itself to any one. Perhaps the MSS. reading is a contamination arising from a variant ^{ICAC} OMWC (i. e. ὁμῶς).

1232. στείχωμεν, "Ἀδρασθ', ὄρκια δῶμεν.

Equivalent to στείχωμεν, ἵν' ὄρκια δῶμεν. An excellent survival of the paratactic construction out of which the final clause (in stricter sense) with subj. grew. This indicates the original hortatory character of this subjunctive.

NOTES ON THE NOMINATIVE OF THE FIRST PERSON IN EURIPIDES.¹

The subject treated would be more accurately designated as the substantival nominative of the first person in Euripides. The current doctrine of the nominative persons in Greek is concisely put as follows in Hadley-Allen, § 603, a: "The only nominatives of the *first person* are ἐγώ, νῶ, ἡμεῖς; of the *second person*, σύ, σφώ, ὑμεῖς; all other nominatives are of the *third person*." But what should be said of such nominatives as θεὰ Κύπρις in *Hipp.* 2? Such self-introducing and self-identifying nominatives of proper names as subjects of verbs in the first person are to be found also *Androm.* 5, 1232, *Hec.* 3, 503, *Troad.* 2, *Bacch.* 2. In view of several of these passages one might be tempted to speak of such nominatives of proper names as autobiographical nominatives of the first person; but such a designation would be too narrow. One naturally thinks of the familiar Latin "vita" form: *Natus sum Iohannes Schmidt Berolini*, where the prefixing of an "ego" by the writer is distinctly a *πάρεργον*. But this is in modern Latin; an instance or instances from the classical language may be found cited in a paragraph (1031) of the late Professor Lane's Latin Grammar, which might well, it should seem, find its parallel in Greek Grammars. (To the examples in Lane 1031, which includes both the first and the second person, might be

¹[From the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXXII (1901), pp. xcix-ci.]

added Verg. *Aen.* 2, 677 sq.; 9, 22; Hor. *Carm.* 3. 1, 3-4; 3-9, 7-8; *Ep.* 9. 11; 16. 36; 17. 35.)—But attention is to be drawn here to several passages of a different sort in Euripides, some of which may be corrupt, some of which are commonly misinterpreted. In *Alc.* 167 sq. we find *μηδ', ὥσπερ αὐτῶν ἡ τεκοῦσ' ἀπόλλυμαι, | θανεῖν ἄωρον παιδας, κτέ.* This is the commonly—and justly—received text. But S (= L and P) reads not *ἀπόλλυμαι*, but *ἀπόλλυται*. On this variance in reading the late Mr Hayley has an excellent note *ad loc. cit.*, in which, however, I should be inclined to substitute the words 'could be—in the emendator's opinion—directly the subject' for "could be directly the subject". In *Alc.* 317 sq. we read without variance in the verbs: *οὐ γάρ σε μήτηρ οὔτε νυμφεύσει ποτὲ—οὔτ' ἐν τόκοις σοῖσι θαρσυνεῖ, τέκνον* (text of S in 318). Here Lenting alone seems to have taken offence—and Lenting was no mean judge of Greek. In his *Epistola Critica*, p. 58, he writes: "Placeret mihi, *νυμφεύσω | θαρσυνῶ*. Vid. Musgrav. *ad. vs. 165*." Musgrave's parallel is, I believe, that given by Monk on v. 167, viz. *Androm.* 413 sq. The latter passage is closely parallel to *Alc.* 167, but it may well be thought that both it and that passage are sufficiently close to *Alc.* 317 sq. to justify Lenting's suspicion that the first person is what Euripides wrote there. We shall then have three—or at least two—cases of a designation of a parent used by that parent as subject of a verb in the first person. In *Med.* 926 Jason is made by Prinz to say of himself *εὖ τὰ τῶνδε θήσεται πατήρ*. Here *εὖ τὰ τῶνδε* and *πατήρ* are very plausible; hardly so *θήσεται*. Why may we not keep *θήσομαι*, which has support in the MSS.? (See Dr. Wecklein's critical notes.) May we not also in *Med.* 915 fairly suspect that Euripides may have written not *ἔθηκε* but *ἔθηκα*, and *ibid.* 918 *ἐργάζομαι*? And in *H. F.* 1368 is not *ἀπώλεσ'* to be understood as *ἀπώλεσα* not *ἀπώλεσε*?—We come now to several instances of what may be called the genuine first person plural subject. A good typical instance of this is *Hipp.* 450 *οὐ* (sc. *Ἔρως* = *Ἐρωτος*) *πάντες ἐσμέν οἱ κατὰ χθόν' ἔκγονοι*. (Like to this is *τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔργων τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ κάλλιστόν ἐσμεν ἄνθρωποι*, 'we human beings are the fairest of God's works on earth,' Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* 1, 21.) The following two examples from the *Medea* are commonly misunderstood and misinterpreted: *Med.* 406-408 *πρὸς δὲ καὶ πεφύκαμεν | γυναῖκες ἐς μὲν ἔσθλ' ἀμυχαιώταται, | κακῶν δὲ πάντων τέκτονες σοφώταται*, 'and besides by nature too we women are for good deeds most awkward, but of all evil deeds most

skilful artisans.' (Here M. Weil rightly: "Γυναῖκες est le sujet, et non le complément, de πεφύκαμεν.") *Med.* 889 sq. ἀλλ' ἐσμὲν οἶόν ἐσμεν—οὐκ ἐρῶ κακόν— | γυναῖκες, 'but we women are what manner of thing we are—I will not say out and out a bad thing.' As a parallel for the second person may be added in conclusion *Med.* 569-573—particularly 569 sq. ἀλλ' ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤκεθ' ὥστ' ὀρθουμένης | εὐνῆς γυναῖκες πάντ' ἔχειν νομίζετε, 'but you women are come to such a pass that you think that when wedlock goes smoothly you possess everything.'

NOTES ON ANTISTROPHIC VERBAL RESPONSION IN ATTIC TRAGEDY.¹

Hermann's words in the *Elementa Doctrinae Metricae*, p. 736 (Leipsic ed. of 1816) = pars III. cap. XXIII. 5, were first quoted. Then, as an example of the use made by Hermann of the principle of antistrophic verbal respension, his emendation of Aesch. *Pers.* 280-283, by which the word *δαίους* is brought into the position occupied by the same word in the antistrophe, was cited. The further restoration of this passage by Hermann, Heimsoeth, and Weil was also briefly treated. Hermann's attempt to restore Eur. *Cycl.* 359-376 was also touched upon, but regarded as uncertain. The example from the *Persae* was then emphasized as indicating the point of view taken up by the author of this paper in the study of antistrophic verbal respension, viz. *its value as an organon of methodical textual criticism.*

The following gradations of antistrophic verbal respension were next noted: 1) repetition, word for word, of an entire choral passage (Aesch. *Eum.* 778-793 = 808-823, *ibid.* 837-846 = 870-880); 2) the use of ephymnia (not Sophoclean; chiefly Aeschylean, but found in Eur. *Ion* and *Bacchae*); 3) the use of prohymnia (not Sophoclean; in Aesch. *Ag.* 1072 sq. = 1076 sq., and *ibid.* 1080 sq. = 1085 sq.; in Eur. *El.* 112-114 = 127-129); 4) the use of mesymnic refrains (Aesch. *Pers.* 1040 = 1048, *ibid.* 1057 = 1063); 5) repetition of the same interjection (or interjections) in the same place in strophe and antistrophe (corresponding to 2, 3, and 4 above, according to position) and the use of similar interjections or brief interjectional expressions in the same place in strophe and anti-

¹ [From the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXVIII (1897), pp. xi-xiv.] [It should be noted that what is printed here is only an abstract of the paper itself.]

strophe; 6) the occurrence of repeated words in the same place in strophe and antistrophe; 7) the occurrence of the same word (not interjection or interjectional) in the same place in strophe and antistrophe (particles form a subdivision here); 8) the occurrence of different parts of the same word (different cases of the same noun, different forms of the same verb) in antistrophic correspondence; 9) the occurrence of different words of a generally similar sound in antistrophic correspondence (e. g. ἄλοκε and ἔλακε, Aesch. *Cho.* 25 and 35); 10) the occurrence of the same syllable or group of syllables at the end, at the beginning, or in the middle of words in antistrophic correspondence. (It is obvious that more than one of these divisions may be illustrated by the same example.) The last three divisions are those which require most careful attention, most exact weighing of collateral evidence, and greatest absence of bias for their ascertainment.

The treatment of antistrophic verbal responsion by Dr J. H. H. Schmidt (*Griechische Metrik*, § 27) was next examined. Dr Schmidt, while denying to the Greek poets rhyme in the modern sense (what have frequently been treated as rhymes in classic Greek being, from his point of view, rhetorical rather than poetical phenomena, or even due to the exigencies of expression), emphasizes the existence of what he terms *Strophentreime* (strophic rhymes). The function of the strophic rhyme is to bind together strophes as rhyme binds together verses. Strophic rhyme consists, he says, not merely in single words, but in whole sentences—often only in analogous subject matter, in similarity of rhetorical construction. Dr. Schmidt cites examples in German from Rueckert and Arndt.

In two points Dr Schmidt seems to go too far: 1) In absolutely denying rhyme, in the common acceptation of the term, to Greek poetry; 2) in stretching the term "strophic rhyme" to include likeness of subject matter and of rhetorical construction. He excludes what would naturally pass for rhyme as rhetorical, and makes rhetorical likeness pass for rhyme. Dr Otto Dingeldein's treatment of Greek rhyme, in the common acceptation (*Gleichklang u. Reim in antiker Poesie*, progr. Buedingen, 1888), is far juster. In a language that readily lends itself to assonance and alliteration we must exercise care in distinguishing between the fortuitous and the intentional; but we must not deny the existence of the intentional. Again,

the frequent presence of strophic rhyme in a narrower sense—what I have called antistrophic verbal (including syllabic) responsion—without close parallelism of thought should warn against a free extension of the term “strophic rhyme” to the domain of sense apart from sound.

Dr Schmidt lays down the “law” of strophic rhyme as follows: The Greek strophic rhyme serves to mark passages that are rhythmically important, either at the beginning or at the close of a larger or smaller [rhythmical] division. The plausibility of this “law” needs no comment. In considering the several varieties of poetry in which strophic rhyme appears, Dr Schmidt notes its restricted use in Pindar. With him it consists of a single word, or at most a very brief sequence of words. Among the Tragedians Dr Schmidt finds, as we should expect *a priori*, a closer relation between Aeschylus and Euripides than between Aeschylus and Sophocles. (Attention has been called above to the most obvious differences between Sophocles and the other two Tragedians.) Though Sophocles, in the avoidance of the larger and more obvious forms of refrain, approaches the position occupied by Pindar, yet Dr Schmidt is inaccurate in making the use of strophic rhyme within the strophe (instead of at the beginning) a characteristic difference between the method of Sophocles and that of Aeschylus. A looser use of strophic rhyme in Euripides—the use of it as a mere traditional ornament in positions of less emphasis—is what we might not improbably expect. However, Dr Schmidt finds Euripides generally strict. In Aristophanes he detects a tendency to avoid verbal responsion,—nay, more, to place like words and phrases in metrically unbalanced positions. The few examples cited are striking, but the matter requires further examination. Thus far Dr Schmidt.

In Sophocles there are examples (and they seem not to be entirely wanting in the other two Tragedians) of a modification, or relaxation, at times of the stricter form of verbal responsion. The verbal parallel appears, not in the same, but in approximately the same position in the antistrophe. *Philoct.* 201 εὐστομ’ ἔχε, παῖ=210 ἀλλ’ ἔχε, τέκνον (quoted by Professor Kaibel on *Soph. Electr.* 1232, in a strikingly inadequate note on verbal responsion) may serve as an example.

Returning to the important question of textual criticism involved,

we may lay down the following principles: 1) Antistrophic verbal responsion must be carefully observed; 2) its certain or probable occurrence should guard the text against conjectural emendation; 3) when a slight (sometimes a more extensive) transposition of words will bring about verbal responsion, such transposition is generally to be resorted to without hesitation; 4) the discovery of verbal responsions may aid in rightly arranging a passage and in determining the presence of lacunae. Thus, on the one hand, a check is put upon wanton emendation, falsely so called; on the other, we may proceed to a methodical and reasonably certain restoration of the original in many cases.

Soph. *Ant.* 100-162 was then dealt with (the author's restoration of v. 117 [see *Class. Rev.* IX. (1895), p. 15]¹ being alluded to); also *Ant.* 1115-1135. In this latter passage the syllabic correspondence between *Ἰταλίαν* (1118) and *Κασταλίας* (1130) was held to be against the emendation of the former word to *Ἰκαρίαν*.

The paper concluded with a mention of the following two points: 1) In the famous passage Eur. *I. A.* 231-302, commonly regarded as the work of an interpolator, verbal responsion is carefully observed, and must even be restored. (M. Weil has treated the passage rightly in detail.) 2) In the *Rhesus* 454-466 = 820-832. This wide separation of strophe and antistrophe finds its parallel in Eur. *Hipp.* 362-371 = 668-679 (as in the *Rhesus*, an antistrophic passage intervenes), in Soph. *Phil.* 391-402 = 506-518 (no lyric passage intervenes), in Eur. *Orest.* 1353-1365 = 1537-1549 (astrophic lyric verses and trochaic tetrameters between; cf. *Rhes.* 131-136 = 195-200 [only trimeters between])). But in Sophocles there is no verbal responsion; in Euripides it is slight in the *Hippolytus* and confined to interjections; in the *Orestes* it appears only at the beginning; in the *Rhesus* (both passages) the responsion may almost be termed excessive. The importance of this observation in the discussion of the date and authorship of the *Rhesus* is obvious.

PORSON'S ENUNCIATION OF PORSON'S RULE.²

In regard to Porson's famous rule about the fifth foot in a tragic trimeter ending in a cretic word, which is wrong as it stands, it was

¹ [See p. 47.]

² [From 'Miscellanea Critica', Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXXII (1901), p. xxviii.] [This note is given in abstract.]

suggested that Porson probably drafted the rule so that it ended *quintus pes non spondeus esse deberet*, but thinking it directer to use an affirmative rather than a negative turn of expression, carelessly substituted for *non spondeus* the expression for what is normally allowable in the first five places of the trimeter, viz. *iambus vel tribrachys*, forgetting that the final - ˘ - made "*vel tribrachys*" an impossible addition.

THUCYDIDES

DE THUCYDIDES I. 1-23.¹

Prooemium Thucydidis conscriptionis—sic enim *συγγραφὴν* interpretatam velim—ad eum tractare modum in animo habeo, ut partim singulos locos quam potero diligentissime examinare atque, si opus fuerit, emendare coner, partim ut quam in hac possessionis sempiternae particula componenda rationem secutus sit Thucydides et investigem et exponam.

Ac primum quidem de primo capitulo haec habeo quae dicam. Primum in ipso initio post scriptoris nomen excidisse videri δ' *Ὀλόρου*; nam ex corruptis Scholiastae verbis, id quod Stephanus primus animadvertit, hoc saltem evadere, ita hic proprium suum nomen commemorasse Thucydidem, ut a cognominibus se ipse distinxerit. At levius hoc fortasse neque longiore dignum disputatione; graviolem vero moverunt quaestionem qui pro *ξυνέγραψε* primam personam repositam voluerunt. Nam, si *ξυνέγραψα* amplexi erimus, sequitur ut pro *ὄρων* participio, quod constructionem verborum haud paulum impedit, facili negotio reponere possimus *ἑώρων*. At haec in incertarum numero coniecturarum habenda; multo certius—ne dicam certissimum—illud est, non *ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους* Thucydidem scripsisse sed *ὃν ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, quae verba latine reddas, ratione habita sedis quam obtinet illud *πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, 'quod inter ipsos gesserunt'. Sicut tradita nobis sunt verba ista varie possunt accipi, ut significant aut 'ut <id bellum> inter ipsos gesserunt' aut 'ut inter ipsos bellum gesserunt' aut 'quo modo <id bellum> inter ipsos gesserint' aut 'quo modo inter ipsos bellum gesserint'. At diligentius locum relegenti idoneam quidem sententiam ex eis interpretationibus tibi praeberere debet nulla. Reducto *ὃν* pronomine *τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων* *ὃν ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους* nihil aliud significabit nisi 'id bellum Peloponnesiorum et Atheniensium quod inter ipsos gesserunt', quibus verbis quam optime significatur quod appellari solet Bellum Peloponnesiacum. In insequentibus *καὶ* particulam inter *καθισταμένον* et *ἐλπίσας* infertam et ipsi Thucydidi abiudicandam censeo. Praeterea digna est quae attendatur suspicio quam in com-

¹ [From the American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXVI (1905), pp. 441-454.]

mentario Classeno-Steupiano verbis expressam legimus de lacuna statuenda post τῶν προγεγενημένων. Debuit sane Thucydides τῶν προγεγενημένων Ἑλληνικῶν πολέμων scribere. Vix necesse habeo dicere ante ἐς αὐτὸν non ἦσαν me sed ἦσαν verum habere. Hic quasi in transcurso significare mihi liceat in verbis quae sunt τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον non habere καὶ particulam quo suo quidem iure referatur. Quid si non sic scripsit Thucydides sed plene τὸ δὲ καὶ <αὐτὸ> διανοούμενον? Ante verba quae sunt κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο facere non possumus, si recte cogitamus, quin subaudiamus καὶ ὀρθῶς ἤλπισα μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων Ἑλληνικῶν πολέμων vel tale quid. Violentissima est sane ellipsis, sed γὰρ particula apud Thucydidem saepe numero valde elliptice usurpatur. In insequentibus non possum non cum Steupio facere verba καὶ μέρει . . . ἀνθρώπων suspectante. Certe importunissime inferta sunt ea verba. In verbis quae proximam obtinent sedem re vera obaeravit, ut ita dicam, Thucydidis studiosos Herbstius pro τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν reposito τὰ γὰρ Τρωϊκὰ. Hoc loco haud absurde fortasse animadvertero γὰρ particulam ideo positam esse ut introducat ratiocinationem cur dixerit Thucydides κίνησιν ταύτην μεγίστην δὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησι γενέσθαι, quo modo usurpatae γὰρ particulae exempla minime desunt. Cetera minutiora quae commemoratione haud indigna in hoc capitulo obvia sunt ut recenseam, haud dubium mihi quidem videtur quin ἀδύνατον ἦν alteri scripturae, quae est ἀδύνατα ἦν, praeferendum sit; neque spernenda erat Cobeti coniectura elegantissima pro obscuro et impedito illo ὃν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεύσαι ξυμβαίνει οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι planum atque apertum hoc ὡς ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεύσαι ξυμβαίνει οὐ μεγάλα γενέσθαι reponentis.

Eo iam prorepsimus unde Herbstii acumine hic saltem felicissimo usis ac totius proemii ratione habita latius nobis prospicere liceat. Nam si quis diligentius legerit neque ambagibus scriptoris seductus a summa rerum oculos detorserit, sic ab initio prooemium a Thucydide adumbratum esse aut perspiciet aut certe perspicere debebit, ut primum capitulum cum vicesimo tertio artissimo esset vinculo coniunctum. Quae tamen duo capitula tam late nunc sunt distracta, ut nemo, quod sciam, veram quae eis inter sese intercedit rationem perspexerit neque mendum correxerit quod initium capituli vicesimi tertii deturpat. Ut planam legentibus rem efficiam atque apertam, primi capituli finem et vicesimi tertii initium, utrumque mendis pur-

gatum, hic ob oculos proponam. Ecce igitur in unum coniuncta quae diu fuerant separata:

τὰ γὰρ Τρωϊκὰ καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα σαφῶς μὲν εὐρεῖν διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος ἀδύνατον ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων ὥς ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ἔυμβαίνει οὐ μεγάλα γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα. τῶν δὲ ὕστερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μηδικόν, καὶ τοῦτο ὁμως ταχέϊαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχε, τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκος τε μέγα προύβη, κτέ.

Prooemium suum postquam sic adumbravit Thucydides, quam brevem ac simplicem formulam utrum litteris consignaverit necne incertum, illa *τεκμήρια τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθενείας* quae in τὰ γὰρ Τρωϊκὰ . . . οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα sibi praesto esse indicaverat proponere instituit idque ordine qui dicitur chiastico; nam primum τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα et τὰ ἄλλα, deinde τὰ Τρωϊκὰ et τοὺς πολέμους exponit. Ea omnia capitibus 2-12 continentur, quibus capitibus quae proferuntur artissime sunt inter se connexa. Liquet igitur, admirabili sane sagacitate Bekkerum post duodecimum demum capitulum spatio vacuo relicto maiorem disputationis divisionem finitam indicasse.

Capitibus 13-19 quae continentur neque cum capitibus 2-12 universam prooemii rationem si spectes, cohaerent neque hercle cum capite 20. Satis manifestum esse debet caput 20 una cum maiore parte capitis 21 post conscripta capita 2-12 adiectum esse, ut caput 23 longissimo iam intervallo a capite 1 disiunctum apte introduceretur. In secunda igitur quam statuo prooemii formula caput 12 capite 20 exceptum fuisse credo. Secundae prooemii formae ratio per numeros sic potest indicari: 1—12 + 20—21. 1 + 23.

Quod 21. 2 cum 22 seclusi, id ea de causa feci quod ista verba cum proxime praecedentibus nullo vinculo sunt connexa. Additamentum videntur esse ipsius Thucydidis quod cum reliquo prooemio numquam rite copulavit. Melius omnino se haberet haec particula inter 23. 3 et 23. 4 inserta, sed ne tum quidem prorsus idoneum eam locum inventuram fuisse persuasum habeo.

De tertia quam nunc habemus prooemii forma in universum quidem quod dicam nil habeo praeter ista quae aliud agens iam protuli. Hic erat vero fortasse locus aliquid iniciendi quod in superiore mea disputatione neglexi. Nam significare me oportuit ex collocatione capitum 1 et 23 vel apertius apparere quanto iure Herbstius Τρωϊκὰ pro *πρὸ αὐτῶν* introduxerit. Neque enim necessario sequeretur ut magnum fuisset Bellum Peloponnesiacum, si quaecunque id praecessissent,

ea omnia οὐ μεγάλα fuissent οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα. Coniuncto demum cum antiquioribus bellis Persico illo atque utrisque cum Peloponnesiaco comparatis evadit id quod Thucydides demonstrare studebat. Addendum fortasse erat desiderare me in Herbstii vel potius Thucydidis τὰ γὰρ Τρωϊκὰ inter τὰ et γὰρ illud μὲν quo inserto oppositionem quam ego indicavi planius appareret; sed particulam desideratam dubito tamen inserere. Nunc ad capita 2-12 et in universum et particulatim excutienda me accingam.

Ac primum quidem illud attendendum est, in capitibus 2 et 3 antiquarum rerum Graecarum imbecillitatis duas adferri causas, quarum altera migrationes (μεταναστάσεις), altera civitatum inter sese commercii defectus (ἀμειξία) fuit. In fine capituli tertii summam indicat Thucydides etiam Bellum Troianum ex maiore maris usu pependisse, cuius sententiae e demonstratione quae in capitibus 4-8 continetur initium capiunt, quibus capitibus rei navalis Graecorum qui fuerit ante Bellum Troianum status luculenter exponitur. Nunc ad minutiora animum adpellamus.

In capite 2 igitur suspectum aliquantum mihi est illud τὰ πρότερα, quippe quo post πάλαι non opus sit. In commentario Classeno-Steupiano post οὔσαι desideratur ἐκούσαι. Id minus verum mihi videtur, qui integritatem huius loci hoc pacto restitutam velim: ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὔσαι καὶ ῥαδίως ἔκαστοι τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες <ἐκόντες τε καὶ> βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν αἰεὶ πλειόνων. Cur αἱ τε δυνάμεις τισὶ μείζους ἐγγιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποιοῦν ac non potius αἱ . . . μείζους γιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποιοῦν scripserit Thucydides, si re vera sic scripsit, equidem dispicere nequeo. Verba quae sunt τὴν γοῦν . . . αὐξήθῃναι insulso interpretamento deturpata esse puto. Integrum locum sic se habuisse arbitror:

τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων ἀστασίαστον οὔσαν ἄνθρωποι ὥκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ καὶ παράδειγμα (exemplum) τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου (i. e. eorum quae in proxime praecedente enuntiato dicta sunt) οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι (sc. ἡ Ἀττικὴ)· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος κτέ.

In capite 3 pro τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθένειαν fortasse rescribendum <τὴν> τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθένειαν. In insequentibus ξύμπασά πω ἔχαιν correxit Reiske, πολλοῦ γε χρόνου καὶ ἀπασιν ἐκνικῆσαι van der Mey, recte uterque. 3. 3 sic fortasse scribendum: πολλῷ γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτι καὶ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γινόμενος οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς ξύμπαντας <Ἑλλήνας> (suppl. Matthiae) ὠνόμασεν

οὐδ' ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς μετ' Ἀχιλλέως ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος, οἵπερ καὶ πρῶτοι ἦσαν, Δαναοὺς δὲ . . . ἀνακαλεῖ (si sana scriptura in verbo ultimo). Quae ista excipiunt praestat fortasse hunc ad modum scribere : οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ βαρβάρους εἰρκεν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ διὰ τὸ μὴδ' Ἑλληνὰς πω ἀντίπαλον ἐς ὄνομα ἀποκεκρίσθαι· οἱ δ' οὖν Ἕλληνες ὕστερον κληθέντες οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ ἀμειξίαν ἀλλήλων ἀθρόοι ἐπραξαν. In verbis οἱ δ' οὖν . . . κληθέντες quae omisi, ea adeo sensum impediunt, vix ut vera esse possint.

Initio capitis quarti γὰρ particula valde elliptice, ut saepe, usurpatur. Subauditur huius modi quid : τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης ἐς χρῆσιν κατέστησαν τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. In insequentibus recte Cobetus ἐκάθηνεν pro tradito καθήρει reposuit.

In capitis quinti initio scribendum est, nisi fallor, hunc ad modum : οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες τὸ πάλαι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων <τινές>, οἳ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῃ παραθαλάσσιοι καὶ ὅσοι νήσους εἶχον, κτέ. Quae causa adductus sic corrigendum esse existimem, planius apparebit ex eis quae de ἐλίζοντο δὲ καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον κτέ. infra sum disputaturus. In insequentibus inclino ad faciendum cum Herwerdeno illud ναυσὶν quod est inter περαιούσθαι et ἐπ' ἀλλήλους damnante. Perperam in editionibus quas curaverunt Classenus et Steupius virgula omittitur inter ἀδυνατωτάτων et κέρδους; nam verba quae sunt κέρδους . . . τροφῆς quam artissime cum ἐτράποντο πρὸς ληστείαν coniungenda sunt, cum illud ἡγουμένων . . . ἀδυνατωτάτων per medium, quod aiunt, sit. 5. 2 vix dubium esse potest quin cum Reiskio οἷς ἔτι καὶ νῦν pro tradito ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἷς reponendum sit. In οἷς τ' ἐπιμελὲς εἶη εἰδέναι, ubi optativus vix ac ne vix quidem intellegi potest, omittendum censeo εἶη.

In c. 6. 3 et cc. 7-8 de re piratica fusius agitur, i. e. quae in c. 5. 1 summam significata sunt, ea hic enucleatius exponuntur. Attentiore animo haec legenti aut apparebit aut apparere debet ea quae c. 5. 3 legimus cum c. 8. 1 artissime cohaerere ita ut καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον et καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν λησται ἦσαν οἱ νησιῶται sese invicem excipiant. Apparebit autem c. 8. 1 in falsam nunc sedem detrusum esse, cum ea verba inter cc. 6 et 7 reponenda sint. Veram eam, ut credo, consecutionem in sequenti disputatione observabo. Nunc ad c. 6 redeamus.

Totum hoc capitulum ab extremis capitis 5 verbis initium capit, quae verba sunt τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι τούτοις τοῖς ἡπειρώταις ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς ληστείας ἐμμεμένηκε. Sed hic quoque in γὰρ particula ellipsin offendimus; cogitando enim suppleamus oportet post verba quae modo laudavi vel οὐδὲ τούτοις μόνον τὸ σιδηροφορεῖσθαι ξύνηθες ἦν τὸ πάλαι vel tale quid.

Facto demum supplemento sine salebra procedet disputatio. Atque initio capitis recte fortasse Hude pro *ἑσιδηροφόρει*, quam scripturam praebent codices Thucydidei, *ἑσιδηροφόρον* substituit, quam scripturam aliunde cognitam habemus. Eadem huius capitis sectione suo iure videtur Herwerdenus *τὴν ξυνήθη δάιταν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο* pro tralaticio illo *ξυνήθη τὴν δ. μ. δ. ε.* Per eius correctionis occasionem animadverto *ἐποιήσαντο* aoristum non alia de causa usurpatum videri nisi quod cum *ξυνήθη* cogitatione coniunctus idem valet atque *εἰώθεσαν ποιέσθαι* aut, id quod simplicius etiam est, *ἐποιούντο*. Neque tamen inde recte concludas *ξυνήθη* adiectivum in praedicativa quae dicitur sede recte hoc loco collocari posse. In insequentibus cum Reiskio omnino faciendum *σημείον δ' ἐστὶ τὰ (pro ταῦτα) τῆς Ἑλλάδος κτέ.*

In c. 6. 3 transitus fit ab armis militaribus ad vestitum, unde c. 6. 5 facillimo descensu ad nuditatem devenimus. Hac in sectione verum vidit Reiskius, qui pro *πέπανται* reposuit *πέπαννται*; neque falsus videtur fuisse Cobetus verba quae sunt *περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα* excludens. Eadem sectione equidem minime intellegere possum quae continuo insecuntur, nisi hoc pacto rescribuntur: *ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν τῶν Βαρβάρων ἔστιν οἷς—καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς—πυγῆς καὶ πάλης ἄθλα τίθεται κτέ.* Tralaticia verba quam perversissima sunt. Absoluto iam excursu de armis et vestitu ad *δεύτερον πλοῦν* de re piratica redeamus.

In priore igitur parte capitis octavi (*καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν . . . ἔτι θάπτουσι*), quam summo, ut persuasum habeo, iure huc transtuli, de insulanis agitur latronibus. Hac in particula extrema subditicium mihi videtur *ξυντεθαμμένη* (v. l. *ξυντεθαμμένοι*) participium. Certe non necessarium est participium sententiamque magis impedit quam expedit. In insequentibus melius sane rem suam gessisset Thucydides, si plenius scripsisset *καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ταφῆς* (vel *καὶ τῆς ταφῆς τῷ τρόπῳ*) *ἔκ κτέ.*

Caput 7 cur hic collocaverit Thucydides, ex c. 5. 1 apparebit, ubi praedones *πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις* diripiendis operam dedisse certiores fimus. Hoc in capite singula si spectes, haec digna videntur quae notentur. In *τῶν δὲ πόλεων* *ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα ὤκισθησαν καὶ ἤδη πλωϊμωτέρων ὄντων* vix verum potest esse illud *νεώτατα* quippe quod nil aliud significet nisi *καὶ ἤδη πλωϊμωτέρων ὄντων*, quae verba interpretationis instar usitatisimo modo per *καὶ* particulam subiunguntur. Reponendum censeo *νεώτερον*. In insequentibus praestat fortasse *τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκασται* (non *ἕκαστοι*) *ἰσχύος* scribere. Mox *ἔφερον γὰρ <καὶ ἦγον> ἀλλήλους* rescriptum usitatam atque, ut videtur, unice veram scribendi ra-

tionem reducat. Extremo capitulo ἄνω ᾠκισμένοι, quam scripturam Reiskii acumen restituit, non fuit iterum relegandum.

C. 8. 2 partim reditus fit ad ea quae c. 4 continentur, partim initium capitis 7 respicitur; nam hic et c. 8. 3 ea iterantur quae priore dimidio capitis 7 continentur. Atque comparatis duobus eis locis haec apparent: primum c. 7 perperam Herwerdenum *τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον* in *ἐκτίζοντο καὶ τείχεσιν τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον* mutatum voluisse. Nam inter sese respondent c. 7 *ἥδη πλωϊμωτέρων ὄντων* et c. 8. 2 *πλωϊμώτερα ἐγένετο παρ' ἀλλήλους*, c. 7 *περιουσίας μᾶλλον ἔχουσαι χρημάτων* et c. 8. 3 *μᾶλλον ἥδη τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι*, c. 7 *τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο* et c. 8. 3 *τείχη περιεβάλλοντο*. Huc accedit quod c. 7 verba quae sunt *ἐμπορίας τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκασται ἰσχύος* chiastice praecedentia excipiunt, ita ut ex una parte *τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον ἐμπορίας ἕνεκα* (cf. 6. 2. 6 *ᾠκουν δὲ καὶ Φοίνικες περὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν ἄκρας τε ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ τὰ ἐπικείμενα νησιδία ἐμπορίας ἕνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Σικελούς*, unde etiam apparet minus diligenter Thucydidem *τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον* scripsisse), ex altera autem parte *τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκασται ἰσχύος* (sc. *ἕνεκα*) coniungere oporteat. Hinc discimus etiam—nam manus, ut aiunt, manum lavat—quo modo ea quae c. 8. 3 *τείχη περιεβάλλοντο* excipiunt et intelligenda sint et emendanda. Ac primum quidem verba quae sunt *ὥς πλουσιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν γιγνόμενοι*, quae idem valent atque *μᾶλλον ἥδη τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι* atque in quibus offendit non modo αὐτοὶ ante ἑαυτῶν omissum sed etiam importunissimum illud *ὥς*, haec verba Thucydidi abiudicanda censeo. At quorsum pertinet illud *ἐφιεμένοι γὰρ κτέ.*? atque qua tandem de causa sunt adiecta haec verba? Responsum nobis reddet, nisi fallor, c. 7, unde discimus haec verba eidem notioni exprimendae inservire atque *ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἰσχύος*. Ut planius quid dicere velim significem, rationem reddunt ea verba cur *τινὲς* etiam *τείχη περιβαλέσθαι* dicantur, videlicet quod *προσεποιούντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους πόλεις*. Comparet nunc verba quae sunt *περιουσίας ἔχοντες* perversum esse interpretamentum a quopiam antiquitus ad *δυνατώτεροι* appositum, Thucydidem autem non nisi *οἱ τε δυνατώτεροι προσεποιούντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους πόλεις* scripsisse. Ad finem iam relati sumus capitis octavi, ubi per *καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῷ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἥδη ὄντες ὕστερον χρόνῳ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐστράτευσαν* ea verba et respiciuntur et iterantur quibus c. 3 clauditur atque ad Bellum Troianum, quod ibi in eo erat ut tractaretur, fit tandem reditus.

Capitibus 9-12 ita de Bello Troiano agitur ut capite 9 Agamemnonis potentia ostendatur, capite 10 demonstretur τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, λειπομένην δὲ τῶν νῦν, capite 11 causa adducatur pecuniae inopia (ἡ ἀχρηματία), capite 12 quasi quodam epilogo etiam post Bellum Troianum migrationes (μεταναστάσεις) tales quales capite 2 erant descriptae diu factas esse dicatur unde evenerit ut multae coloniae deducerentur. Huius capituli in fine, quasi sese excuset quod fines disputationis de antiquo Graeciae statu antiquorumque Graecorum rebus gestis transgressus sit, haec addit Thucydides: πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ὕστερον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐκτίσθη. Nunc ad caput 9 redeamus.

Capitis 9 initium mendo parvo quidem sed haud ita levi laborare mihi videtur, neque recte processuram arbitror orationem nisi hunc ad modum repurgetur: Ἀγαμέμνων γάρ μοι δοκεῖ κτε. Sectione secunda verissime, nisi fallor, pro οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων . . . δεδεγμένοι Hude coniecit οἱ σαφέστατα τὰ Π. . . δ. In insequentibus pro πλήθει χρημάτων ἃ ἦλθεν . . . ἔχων equidem reposuerim πλήθει χρημάτων ὃ ἦλθεν . . . ἔχων. Post ξυνενεχθῆναι quae constructio ex simplici genetivo absoluto acta est, ea in formam vere portentosam evasit quasi vires acquirens eundo. Simplicior ea forma haec fere sit: Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρέως δὲ τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὅσων Εὐρυσθεὺς ἦρχε τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος καὶ τῶν Περσειδῶν τοὺς Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστήσαντος (nam quin pro καταστήναι reponendum sit καταστήσαι vix dubium esse existimo). Impeditior vero quam nunc apud Thucydidem legimus participialis huius clausulae forma sic videtur scribenda ac distinguenda: Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρέως δέ, μητρὸς ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ, ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως, ὅτ' ἐστράτευε, Μυκήνας τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον Ἀτρεῖ—τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον—καί, ὡς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθεὺς, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καὶ ἅμα δυνατόν <αὐτὸν> δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλήθος τεθεραπευκότα τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὅσων Εὐρυσθεὺς ἦρχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρεῖα παραλαβεῖν καὶ τῶν Περσειδῶν τοὺς Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστήσαι. Hac in formula illud Ἀτρέως prorsus pendet, constructio autem e participiali fit infinitivalis. In sectione tertia legendum videtur τὴν στρατείαν, οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεον <τὸν στόλον> ἢ φόβῳ ξυναγαγόν, ποιήσασθαι. In insequentibus autem πρὸς παρασχών cum Scholiasta et Herwerdeno legendum. Haec verba in codicibus sequitur

clausula hunc ad modum leviter reficienda: ὡς Ὁμηρος τοῦτό <τε> δεδήλωκεν, εἰ τῷ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι, καὶ ἐν τοῦ Σκῆπτρου ἅμα τῇ Παραδόσει εἶρηκεν κτέ. Priusquam ad decimum caput pergam addendum esse censeo cum eis me facere qui pro καὶ ναυτικῷ τε ἅμα veram scripturam καὶ ναυτικῷ γε ἅμα reposuerunt.

In capituli 10 sectionibus 1-2 praecavere studet Thucydides, ne ex Mycenarum aliarumve antiquarum urbium fama nobilium parvitate imbecillas eas fuisse falso concludamus. Comparatione igitur instituta praesentis condicionis Sparta Athenarumque et eius quae esset, si utraque urbs diruta esset, sic concludit (sect. 3) οὐκ οὖν ἀπιστεῖν εἰκὸς οὐδὲ τὰς ὅψεις τῶν πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις, νομίζειν δὲ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, λειπομένην δὲ τῶν νῦν—τῇ Ὀμήρου αὖ ποιήσει εἰ τι χρὴ κἀνταῦθα πιστεῦσαι (ubi aperte respicit 9. 3, ubi legimus ὡς Ὁμηρος τοῦτό <τε> δεδήλωκεν εἰ τῷ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι, 'si cui idoneus est testis', ubi fortasse legendum εἰ τῷ ἱκανὸς <ἐκείνος> τεκμηριῶσαι, 'si cui idoneus ille testis'). Haec omnia pendent ex εἰκάζειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ οἷα ἦν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς (9. 4) atque, ex parte certe, ideo addita vel potius inserta sunt, ut demonstraretur incorrupti Thucydidem iudicis munere fungi. Nunc ad minutiora animum adpellamus. Ac primum quidem haud equidem dispicere possum in καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι κτέ. quid opus sit μὲν, quae particula mea quidem opinione multo melius abesset. Infra recte videtur Hude Λακεδαιμονίων <μὲν> γὰρ scripsisse. Neque minus bene idem vir doctus cum aliis ξυνοικισθείσης <τῆς> πόλεως corrigendum censet. Sectione 3 quae πιστεύειν secuntur equidem sic scripserim: ὅν (sic Cobetus) εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον μὲν <αὐτὴν> ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμήσαι. Sectione 4 in transcurso notandum est τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ἐλαχίστας negligentius dictum pro τὰς πλείστους καὶ ἐλαχίστους ἐχούσας. Idem valet de eisdem verbis sect. 5 iteratis. Infra aut pessime scripsit Thucydides aut sic est corrigendum: ἄλλως τε καὶ μελλόντων πέλαγος περαιώσεσθαι μετὰ σκευῶν πολεμικῶν οὐδ' αὖ τὰ πλοῖα κατάφαρκα ἐχόντων. Nam non de περιέψεως hic sermo, sed de universo Graecorum exercitu. De quo loco vide quae adnotavit Poppo.

Capite 11 recte cum aliis Cobetus μάχη ἐκρατή <θη> σαν . . . φαίνονται οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα infraque aequè recte idem vir doctus ῥαδίως ἂν μάχη κρατοῦντες, οἳ γε καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόοι (debuìt οὐχ ἀθρόοι) ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ αἰεὶ παρόντι ἀντείχον, πολιορκία δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν ἐλάσσονί τε χρόνῳ (= εἰ δὲ πολιορκία προσκαθεζόντο, ἐν ἐλάσσονί τ' ἂν χρόνῳ) καὶ ἀπώτερον τὴν Τροίαν εἶλον—ubi vix opus est animadvertere ἐλάσσονι idem valere atque ἐλάσσονι

τοῦ τῶ ὄντι γενομένου, ἀπονώτερον autem idem atque ἐλάσσονι πόνῳ ἢ ὅσον ἔσχον. Recte inquam sic scribendum censuit Cobetus, nisi forte praestat, id quod minus obscurum intellectu locum redderet, post ῥαδίως inserere μὲν atque pro Τροίαν scribere πόλιν.

Capiti 12, cui cum praecedentibus quae ratio intercedat supra demonstravi, μετανίστατο καὶ κατωκίετο mihi quidem tralaticiae scripturae videtur praestare. Neque dubium esse debet quin ἡσυχάσασαν αὐξήθῃναι falso sit scriptum pro ἡσυχάσασα αὐξήθῃναι. Sect. 2 cum eis facio qui pro τὰς πόλεις reposuerunt ἄλλας πόλεις. Sect. 3 γὰρ perperam damnavit Steupius, cum recte se habeat particula modo ne ad proxime praecedentia referatur. Nam non cum sect. 2 cohaerēt sect. 3 sed cum sect. 1, ut suspicio mihi orta sit secundam illam sectionem (ἡ τε γὰρ . . . ἔκτιζον) serius demum a Thucydide additam esse. Utut res se habet, sublati eis verbis multo melius in unum coalescunt reliqua. Eadem sect. 3 comparato sequente illo Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον praestat τὴν νῦν μὲν . . . ὤκησαν quam ὤκισαν scribere. At ecce oblitus sum de ἐπεὶ particula quae hoc caput aperit aliquid dicere: oportebat autem; nam cum eadem ellipsi ea particula hic usurpatur quam saepius in γὰρ animadvertimus. Subauditur οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν μόνον ἀσθενῇ ἦν vel eius modi quid. Atque antequam cetera excutere pergo, haud absurdum erit indicare quam apte in disputatione quae capitibus 2-12 continetur cum initio cohaereat finis. Quam clara enim voce hoc μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἡσυχάσασα ἢ Ἑλλὰς βεβαίως καὶ οὐκέτι <μετ>ανισταμένη (ut equidem scriptum velim) memoriam redintegrat, illius φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις οὔσαι.

Capitulum 13-19 post capita 2-12 una cum 20-21.1 dudum absoluta, quam longo vero temporis intervallo incertum, conscriptorum id est consilium, ut quos profectus fecerint quasque res gesserint cum universi Graeci tum praecipue Lacedaemonii Atheniensesque inter confectas iam migrationes et coortum Bellum Peloponnesiacum summatim ostendatur. Haec disputatio in partes divisa est duas, quarum prior τὰ Τυραννικά, posterior autem τὰ μετὰ τὰ Τυραννικά complectitur. Illa capitibus 13-17, haec 18-19 continetur. Atque initio capitis 13 duae res factae narrantur postquam aliquid aucta sit Graecia potentia et pecunia, primum ut in plerisque ex civitatibus tyrannides instituerentur, deinde ut ad rem navalem magis Graeci animum adtenderent. Quae sic ab ipso Thucydide proferuntur: Δυνατωτέρας

δὲ γιγνομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτήσιν τι (Krueger pro ἔτι) μᾶλλον ποιουμένης τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν καθίσταντο—πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι—ναυτικά τε ἐξηρτύνετο ἡ Ἑλλὰς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχετο (quae verba ex Herwerdeni sententia correcta exhibui). Hinc usque ad finem capituli 14 de re navali Graecorum quae tyrannis imperantibus fuit disputatur. Capite 15 terrestri re bellica eiusdem aetatis summatim tractata tandem per occasionem causarum commemorandarum quae obstabant quominus consociatis viribus fortiores evaderent maiores civitates, quae commemoratio adlatis exempli causa Ionibus capite 16 fit, ad tyrannos redit narratio, quorum de maligno plerumque imperio capite 17 exponitur. Haec est in universum distributio satis perversa illa quidem eorum quae capitibus 13-17 narrantur. Ad minutiora nunc redeamus.

Atque de 13. 1 quomodo codicum scripturam emendemus oportere arbitrer supra demonstravi, nunc sectiones 2 et 3 quattuor locis a me ad pristinam, ut opinor, integritatem revocatas exhibebo: πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγὺς (codd. ἐγγύτατα, quod idoneum quidem sensum hic praebet nullum) τοῦ νῦν τρόπου μεταχειρίσαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τριήρεις πρώτῃ (codd. πρῶτον) ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος (=πρώτῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν Κορίνθῳ) ναυπηγηθῆναι· φαίνεται τε (codd. δὲ) καὶ Σαμίοις Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς (codd. ναῦς hic inserunt) ποιήσας τέσσαρας, ἕτη δ' ἔστι κτέ. Sectione 5 quo modo distinguenda—vel potius non distinguenda—essent verba quae sunt τῶν Ἑλλήνων . . . ἐπιμισγόντων vidit Camperus; ea verba ideo potissimum infra exscripta exhibebo ut menda tollam duo. Ecce locus repurgatus: τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ πάλαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω τῶν τε ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔξω διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμισγόντων (=τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ πάλαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμισγόντων τῶν τε ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔξω διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων τοῦτο ποιοούντων). In fine eiusdem sectionis sic rescriptum velim: ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον ἐπλωζον, τὰς ναῦς κτησάμενοι καὶ <τὸ> ἐμπόριον παρέχοντες ἀμφοτέρα δυνατὴν ἔσχον χρημάτων προσόδῳ τὴν πόλιν. In sectione 6 quod traditum habemus καὶ Ῥήνειαν ἑλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ, id sic scribendum censeo: καὶ Ῥ. ἐ. ἀνῆκε (Herwerdenus) τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι (omisso τῷ Δηλίῳ tanquam interpretamento illius τῷ articuli qui illi Ἀπόλλωνι praefixus est).

Quae c. 13. 2-6 continentur ad τὰ παλαιὰ ναυτικά τῶν Ἑλλήνων pertinent insequente vero capite ad τὰ ὕστερον γεγόμενα ναυτικά transitur.

Caput 14 saepe numero satis graviter corruptum emendare sum conatus ad hunc modum: Δυνατώτατα ταῦτα τῶν <παλαιῶν> ναυτικῶν ἦν· φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον γενόμενα τῷκ Τρωϊκῶν, τριήρεσι μὲν ὀλίγα (sic Cobetus pro ὀλίγαις) χρώμενα, πεντηκοντέροις δ' ἔτι καὶ πλοίοις μακροῖς (f. μικροῖς: v. Kruegerum) ἐξηρτυμένα ὥσπερ ἐκείνα· ὀλίγοις γὰρ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου, ὃς μετὰ Καμβύσῃν Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσε, τριήρεις περὶ τε Σικελίαν τοῖς τυράννοις ἐς πλῆθος ἐγένοντο καὶ Κερκυραίοις. Ταῦτα τελευταῖα πρὸ τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας ναυτικά ἀξιόλογα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατέστη· Αἰγινῆται γὰρ (quasi praecesserit εἰκότως δὲ ἀξιόλογα εἶπον vel tale quid) καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι βραχέα ἐκέκτηντο καὶ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ πεντηκοντέρους· ὃψὲ γὰρ ἀφ' οὗ (haec duo vocabula melius fortasse cum Kruegero secluseris) Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεισεν, Αἰγινῆταις πολεμοῦντας καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι αἰσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν, <αἱ> καὶ αὐταὶ οὕτω εἶχον διὰ πάσης καταστρώματα.

C. 15. 1 scribendum cum Valckenaerio et Cobeto οἱ προῦχοντες αὐτοῖς et mox ἐπιπλέοντες γὰρ ταῖς νήσοις (cf. 6. 1. 1 ἐπὶ Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες καταστρέφασθαι) κατεστρέφοντο μάλιστα ὅσοι μὴ κτέ. (nisi forte post ταῖς inserendum ἐπικειμέναις: v. commentarium Steupio-Classenianum). C. 15. 2 legendum ὅθεν <γέ> τις καὶ δύναμις περιεγένετο (quod verbum pro παρεγένετο summo iure restituebat cum aliis Tournier: cf. supra active ἰσχὺν περιποιήσαντο). Hic infelicissima Siesbyei coniectura (v. Hudei ed. mai.) pro καὶ δύναμις reponentis καὶ δύναμις monuit me principii Platonis Phaedonis, ubi in simili verborum contextu ἄν particula falso traditur. Atque operae pretium me facturum arbitror, si locum illum emendatum hic exscriperim. Sic igitur Plato scripsisse videtur—nisi forte primae iam chartae ita obdormivit ut graece iam non sciret: καὶ γὰρ οὔτε τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδεὶς πάνν τι ἐπιχωριάζει τὰ νῦν Ἀθήναζε οὔτε τις ξένος ἀφίκεται ἐκείθεν ὅστις ἡμῖν σαφές τι ἀγγεῖλαι οἶός τ' ἦν περὶ τούτων πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι φαρμάκου πιὼν ἀποθάνοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδὲν εἶχον φράζειν. (57 A–B). At tempus ad Thucydidem redeundi. Reliquo igitur capite 15 nil aliud habeo quod moneam nisi me cum Herwerdeno facere πολλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαυτῶν secludente.

In sexto decimo autem capitulo ἡ Περσικὴ βασιλεία vix minus falsa mihi quidem videtur scriptura quam ἡ Περσικὴ ἐξουσία. Verum habeo ἡ Περσικὴ δύναμις. In insequentibus πρὸς θάλασσαν Thucydidi abiudicandum videtur.

In capite 17 legendum conicio τὸ ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν <ἕκαστοι> μόνον προορώμενοι. In insequentibus verissime mihi videtur Cobetus reposuisse

ὑπ' αὐτῶν pro ἀπ' αὐτῶν, neque dubito quin non εἰ μὴ τι sed εἰ μὴ εἴ τι, 'nisi si quid', verum sit. Atque verba quae sunt οἱ γὰρ . . . δυνάμεως recte a compluribus damnata existimo, quippe quae ex additamento marginali profecta videantur ab aliquo adscripta qui memoria teneret supra (c. 14. 2) a Thucydide relatum esse τριήρεις περί τε Σικελίαν τοῖς τυράννοις ἐς πλῆθος ἐγένοντο καὶ Κερκυραίοις—nisi forte propius veritatem Cobetus contigit, qui μόνοι γὰρ οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως rescibere iussit.

Capitibus 18 et 19, uti supra demonstratum est, τὰ μετὰ τὰ Τυραννικά comprehenduntur: at illa τὰ μετὰ τὰ Τυραννικά nihil aliud re vera sunt nisi historiola maxime summatim adumbrata magnarum illarum duarum societatum a Lacedaemoniis et Atheniensibus utrimque factarum. His in capitibus haud ita multa apparent quae manum emendatricem desiderent; nam ἡ Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ (18. 1) pro ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ alii iam reposuerunt atque Herwerdenus in fine capitis 18 πολεμικὰ pro πολέμα revocavit. Recte autem Stephanus 18. 2 δὴ ἐφάνη reducebat. Quibus correctionibus nil habeo quod addam nisi initio capitis 18 pro καὶ πρὶν τυραννευθείσης me rescibendum censere καὶ <αὐτῆς> τυραννευθείσης. Ad ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται quod attinet, quam scripturam pro ἀφ' οὗ . . . χρῶνται codex M et Hermogenes praebent, non dubium est quin verum esse oporteat, quod tamen magis Graecum quam Thucydideum ne sit equidem vereor. Inter caput 20 una cum capitis 21 sectione 1 et capita 2-12 quae ratio intercedat satis iam est supra demonstratum. Hac in particula prooemii nil habeo quod novi afferam nisi levissimam correctionem illius τοῦ μὲν ἀπέσχοντο, pro quo paene efflagitatur <τού>του μὲν ἀπέσχοντο. Ex alienis hic coniecturis haec accipio: 20. 1 πᾶν τι (Krueger) ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστῶσαι (Reiske); ibid. ὁμῶς pro ὁμοίως (Cobetus); 20. 2 τῶν Πεισιστράτου . . . αὐτοῦ omittendum (Cobetus); 21. 1 <οἱ> α διήλθον (Weil); ibid. αὐτῶν secludendum (Herwerdenus).

De 21. 2 et 22 satis iam in universum disputavi. Minutiora vero adnotabo haec. 22. 1 sic scribendum esse conicio: Χαλεπὸν <μὲν> τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν διαμνημονεῖσαι et ἄλλοθεν ποθέν μοι. 22. 2 καὶ <τὰ> παρὰ (Ullrich) τῶν ἄλλων ὅση δυνατὸν ἀκριβείᾳ κτέ. 22. 4 et ipse post ἔσεσθαι sententiam hiare arbitror. De supplemento vide commentarium Classeno-Steupianum. Ceterum in fine capitis 22 Cobetus ἀκούειν damnavit neque id iniuria ut mihi videtur. Quid si notissimum illud enuntiatum sic ab initio est perscriptum: κτῆμα γὰρ ἐς αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἐύγκειται?

De capite 23 in universum satis iam supra disputavi neque praeter iteratam commendationem illius ὕστερον quod in τῶν δὲ ὕστερον ἔργων pro πρότερον a Thucydide scriptum esse persuasissimum equidem habeo atque in medium prolatam suspicionem 23. 6 rescribendum esse τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γεγενημένους· φόβον <γὰρ> παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν ne verbum quidem amplius addam, sed longae finis chartae hic erit.¹

EPIMETRUM DE THUCYDIDIS DE *ILIADIS* H FINE TESTIMONIO.²

Constare aut certe post ea quae in septima e suis de Iliadis carminibus dissertationibus luculentissime disputavit Arminius Koechly (v. eius Opuscc. Philol. I. 121-152) constare oportet, quo Iliadis H loco Graecorum ad Troiam bellum gerentium classis subductae propugnaculi constructio describitur—qui locus a versu 313 initium capere videtur—, eum “vel recentissimo”—ipsis ut utar Koechlyi verbis (op. cit., p. 151)—“imitatori adscribendum” esse. Quo autem tempore quoque consilio recentissimus ille imitator centonarium suum opusculum Iliadi contexuerit, inde satis certo scire possumus quod, cum Zenodotus, id quod e Scholiis discimus, in suis Iliadis exemplaribus hanc quoque particulam legerit atque etiam—quod multo gravius est—Plato Rp. v. 468 D versum 321 citaverit, Thucydidi is locus ignotus fuit. Nam de Graecorum ad Troiam rebus gestis sic incipit agere Thucydides (I. II. I.): ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μάχῃ ἐκρατή<θη>σαν—δῆλον³ δέ· τὸ γὰρ ἔρμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐτείχίσαντο—,

¹ Sero intellexi II. 2 hunc ad modum scribendum esse: περιουσίαν δ' εἰ ἦλλον ἔχοντες τροφῆς καὶ ὄντες ἀθροοὶ ἀνευ ληστείας καὶ γεωργίας ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, ῥαδίως ἂν (δὴ?) μάχῃ κρατοῦντες—οἳ γε καὶ οὐχ ἀθροοὶ ἀλλὰ μέρει τῇ αἰεὶ παρόντες ἀντίχον (ἀντέσχον?)—πολιορκίᾳ ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν ἐλλάσσονι τε χρόνῳ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν Τροίαν τὴν πόλιν? εἶλον, i.e. abundantia autem si venissent instructi commeatus et coniuncti sine latrocinio et agricultura perpetuo id bellum gessissent, facile proelio superiores facti—quippe qui etiam non coniuncti sed cum parte <tantum> aliqua semper praesentes <tamen> restiterint—obsidione instituta et breviori temporis spatio et minore cum labore Troiam cepissent. εἶλον quod fuit post κρατοῦντες et δ' post πολιορκίᾳ primus, quod sciam, damnavit Krueger; τῇ indefinitum praebet scholion; παρόντες ipse detexi. Loco eminente positum et cum intentione vocis proferendum illud ῥαδίως.

² [This MS. article, dated April 6, 1905, forming a supplement to the preceding paper, was preliminary to an extensive investigation of the Homeric Question which Professor Earle had in view.]

³ Emendavit Thiersch: v. Popponem ad loc.

φαίνονται¹ οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι κτέ. Quem ad locum qui scholium de ἔρυμα vocabulo scripsit munimentum non id intellegit cuius de exstructione apud nostrum Homerum H 337 sqq. mentio fit sed πρότερον μικρότερον διὰ τὰς τῶν Βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομάς : quibus ex verbis elucet ideo illud μικρότερον ἔρυμα ultro hominem istum finxisse quod non de decimo sed de primo belli Troiani anno apud Thucydidem hic agi patet. Neque hercle esse potest hoc loco ut Iliadis H respexerit Thucydides, nisi forte—id quod in talem virum minime cadit—temporis rationem atque etiam rerum narrationem prorsus neglexit. Unde sequitur ut eam Iliadis partem ubi muri constructio describitur Thucydides non habuerit cognitam. Neque vero ullam omnino de illius Graecorum propugnaculi exstructione narrationem apud Homerum legisse videtur Thucydides. Nam si quis cuius de rei confectione descriptionem vel manibus terit vel aliquo tempore lectam memoria retinet, ne ille minime de eius rei originatione quasi prorsus sibi ignota disputabit atque concludet. Quod tamen ipsum facit Thucydides dum sic scribit: δῆλον δέ (sc. Graecos ad litora Troiana postquam adpulerint a Troianis proelio superatos esse). τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα (i.e. illud propugnaculum quod quasi iam dudum aedificatum alibi in Iliade [cf. M 7 una cum Leafii adnotatione ad loc.] commemoratum invenimus) τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο.

Hinc apparet Cobetum, quem maxima semper cum reverentia nomino, summo iure Thucydidis τὸ ἔρυμα de nota omnibus ex Iliade castrorum munitione intellexisse, iniuria autem hac in re Iliadis H 337-341 citasse; cf. Mnemos. n. s. 8. 69. In transcurso autem memoro haud prorsus verum esse quod Cobetus ibidem scripsit, quidquid de bello Troiano scripserit Thucydides ab uno Homero sumptum esse; nam de agris in Chersoneso a Graecis belli tempore cultis ne verbum quidem nostra in Iliade comparet. At id minus ad rem de qua nunc agitur pertinet.

Summam ut subducam disputatiunculae huius meae, satis apparet qua de Iliadis H parte agitur eam Thucydidis prorsus ignotam fuisse; unde sequi ut post id demum tempus quo verba supra citata scripsit Thucydides ea particula Iliadi qualem nos novimus adtexta sit. Id satis diu ante conscriptum a Platone quintum Rei publicae librum esse factum a citatione supra commemorata satis probabile fit. Ac ne quis forte f litteram istis in versibus ad hiatum evitandum

¹ φαίνονται δ' codices : emendavit Cobet.

adsciscendam mihi obiciat, addo quibus septem locis (vv. 356, 371, 375, 413, 429, 444, 465) eiusmodi hiatus apparet, eos omnes versibus formulisve aliunde translatis explicationem atque excusationem accipere facillimam. Unum amplius addo: ad summam quaestionis qua de nunc agitur nihil omnino interesse utrum falsum illud ἐκράτησαν retineatur apud Thucydidem an pro eo verum hoc ἐκράτηθησαν revocetur.¹

CRITICAL NOTES ON THUCYDIDES.

VI, 31. 4.² ξυνέβη δὲ πρὸς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἅμα ἔριν γενέσθαι, [ᾧ τις ἕκαστος προσετάχθη] καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας ἐπίδειξιν μᾶλλον εἰκασθῆναι κτέ.

The words bracketed are unnecessary, disturbing and obscure. May they not have crept into the text from a scholion at the close of the preceding sentence, to which the first clause of the above forms an ἐπανάληψις, the scholion in its original form running somewhat as follows: Τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα σκευῶν] οἱ μὲν ὀπλῖται ὀπλα εἶχον, οἱ δὲ ἐρέται καὶ τέκτονες καὶ λιθουργοὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐργαλεῖα <ᾧ τις ἕκαστος προσετάχθη>?

VI, 11. 2.³ Σικελιώται δ' ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὥς γε νῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ ἔτι ἂν ἦσσαν δεινοὶ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰ ἄρξειαν αὐτῶν Συρακόσιοι, κτέ.

After ἔχουσι Classen indicates a lacuna; Herbst admires the elliptical form of expression and scouts the idea of a lacuna. Both scholars supply the omission in the same way: οὐ δεινοὶ εἶναι, apparently ignoring the fact that Σικελιώται δ' ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐ δεινοὶ εἶναι is a strange way of saying Σικελιώται δ' οὗ μοι δοκοῦσι δεινοὶ εἶναι. So much for the German Greek: let us turn to Thucydides himself. The sentence (*pace* Herbstii) demands a negative near its head in order to yield any proper sense as it stands: the material for supplying the ellipsis is ready to hand in δεινοὶ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι: the clauses may have been dislocated. In fine why not read thus: Σικελιώται δ' <οὐκ> ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὥς γε νῦν ἔχουσι, δεινοὶ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, καὶ ἔτι ἂν ἦσσαν, εἰ ἄρξειαν αὐτῶν Συρακόσιοι, κτέ.?

¹ Rationem quae Thuc. I. 11. 1 cum Iliad. H. intercedit leviter perstrinxit Seeck in libro inscripto Die Quellen der Odyssee p. 418. Seeckio Thucydides ceterique eiusdem aetatis scriptores atque poetae audisse a rhapsodis carmina HomERICA videntur, legisse non videntur. At quis facile credat haec?

² [From the Classical Review, Vol. VI (1892), p. 227.]

³ [From 'Miscellanea Critica' in Classical Review, Vol. X (1896), p. 1.]

VI, 17. 3.¹ I would read thus : ὁ, τι δὲ ἕκαστος ἢ ἐκ τοῦ λέγων πείθειν οἴεται ἢ στασιάζειν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινού λαβών κτέ. The Scholiast's paraphrase εἴτε ἐκ τοῦ λόγῳ πείθειν περιγένοιτο αὐτῷ τὸ λαβεῖν, εἴτε ἐκ τοῦ στασιάζειν shows the reading στασιάζειν to be ancient.

VII, 13. 2.² Legendum τῶν ναυτῶν <αὐτῶν> μὲν κτέ.

ΥΠΟCTAYΠOYN.³

Qui ita equitat ut suus cursus alienum oblique secet, is *ὑπελαύνειν* dicitur: cf. Xen. Anab. I. 8. 15 ubi perversum illud *πελάσας* ab editoribus prudentibus optimo iure semper spretum esse denuo nuper ostendit Pantazides. Item qui ita murum aut vallum in obliquum ducit ut alterum murum aut vallum impediatur quominus producat, is *ὑποτείχίζει* aut *ὑποσταυροῖ*. At hercle, dixerit quispiam, istud *ὑποσταυροῦν* nusquam apud scriptores graecos apparet. Fateor, ut quidem nunc se habent libri; sed reddendum est Thucydidi VI. 101, ubi scribendum esse censeo, καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐν τούτῳ ἐξεληθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπεσταύρου⁴ αὐθις ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως διὰ μέσον τοῦ ἔλους, καὶ τάφρον ἄμα παρώρυσσον, ὅπως μὴ οἶόν τε ἢ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης ἀποτείχισαι.

¹ [From 'Miscellanea Critica' in Classical Review, Vol. X (1896), p. 1.]

² [This emendation was presented at the meeting of the American Philological Association, July, 1898, but was never published.]

³ [From Mnemosyne, Vol. XXXIII (1895), p. 153.]

⁴ Codd. ἀπεσταύρου.

PLATO.
PLATONIS THRASYMACHUS,
SIVE
REI PUBLICAE LIBER PRIMUS.¹

327 A Primum Platonem scripsisse opinor hunc in modum :

Κατέβην χθές εἰς Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος
προσευξόμενός τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἐορτὴν βουλόμενος θεά-
σασθαι, θεωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ προσευξάμενοι ἀπῆμιν πρὸς ἄστυ. ,

tum autem post θεάσασθαι, quasi ἰδεῖν fuerit, addidisse :

τίνα τρόπον ποιήσουσιν ἅτε νῦν πρῶτον ἄγοντες. Καλὴ μὲν
οὖν μοι καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πομπὴ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, οὐ μέντοι
ἦττον ἐφαίνετο πρέπειν ἢ οἱ Θράκες ἔπεμπον. ,

quibus verbis additis participiorum ordinem commutasse, ut inde ab initio narrationis usque ad principium insequentis enuntiati precationis et spectationis notiones chiasmi in modum sese exciperent.

327 B In verbis quae sunt Κατιδὼν οὖν et quae secuntur usque ad κελεύσαι ita a Platone mutationem factam esse opinor, ut, cum scripsisset hoc pacto :

Κατεῖδε δὲ πόρρωθεν ἡμᾶς οἵκαδε ὠρμημένους Πολέμαρχος ὁ
Κεφάλου· ἐκέλευσεν οὖν δραμόντα τὸν παῖδα περιμεῖναι ἔ
κελεύσαι. ,

ad maiorem—ut ei videbatur—concinnitatem contextus pro priore illo verbo finito participium substitueret, hoc modo :

Κατιδὼν οὖν . . . ἐκέλευσε κτέ.

327 B Πολέμαρχος περιμεῖναι <ἐ> scribendum esse censeo.

327 C Verba quae sunt ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς πομπῆς aut, ut in Π sunt, ἀπὸ τῆς πομπῆς non Platonis esse puto sed ab aliquo homine ad verba ὡς ἀπιόντες in margine adposita esse.

327 C Scribendum esse censeo :

Οὐκ οὖν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ἔτι ἐν ἐλλείπεται (=ἔτι ἐν ἔστιν ὅπερ καὶ
ἐλλείπεται), τὸ ἡ πείσωμεν ὑμᾶς ὡς χρὴ ἡμᾶς ἀφείναι ;

328 A Post θεάσασθαι audiendum videtur esse ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς θεασόμεθ' αὐτὴν vel tale quid. Insequitur enim ἐξαναστησόμεθα γὰρ κτέ.

¹ [MS. paper.]

Non dubitaverim equidem quin scribendum sit καὶ ξυνεσόμεθά γε πολλοῖς τῶν νέων κτέ.; ea enim cum adolescentibus conversatio praecipua fuit quasi esca ad Socratem alliciendum. Cuius pro-
pensionis Socratis Glaucō minime ignarus facete sane pro eo
respondet (328 B): Ἐοικεν μενετεόν εἶναι.

328 B καὶ δὴ καὶ Θρασύμαχον τὸν Καλχηδόνιον: inducitur protagonista.

328 C διὰ χρόνον γὰρ καὶ ἑωράκη αὐτόν: tempus verbi a forma nega-
tivi enuntiati explicandum, quae forma fuisset: συχρὸν γὰρ χρόνον
οὐδ' ἑωράκη αὐτὸν vel tale quid.

τεθυκὼς γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν: an etiam τεθυκὼς γὰρ ἔτυχεν recte se ha-
buisset?

οὐ τι θαμίζεις scribendum esse ego quoque opinor.

οὐδὲν ἂν σέ ἔδει scribendum; nam in σέ pronomine opposi-
tionis notio inest.

328 D [ἐπιθυμία τε καὶ ἡδοναί].

Recte se habet νεανίσκοις.

παρ' ἡμᾶς = παρ' ἐμῆ.

328 E Iunge τοῦτο ὃ δὴ.

[τοῦ βίου] Adscripta fuerant haec verba ad τῆς ἡλικίας.

329 A οἷόν γ' ἐμοὶ .

ἀναμνησκόμενοι <τῶν> περί τε?

τότε μὲν εὖ ζῶντες, νῦν δὲ οὐδὲ ζῶντες¹: aut unum aut alterum
participium fortasse eiciendum.

329 C Aut αὐτ' ἀπέφυγον aut αὐτὰ ἀπέφυγον scribendum.

ἀποδράς pro ἀποφυγών mihi arridet, nisi forte expellendum est
participium.

ἐπειδὴν γὰρ necessario legendum.

329 D ἔστι non potest retineri.

ἐκίνουν καὶ εἶπον: cf. ἡσπάζετο τε καὶ εἶπεν 328 C.

329 E Καὶ λέγουσι μὲν τί.

329 E Intellexit Cicero: ὅς τω Σεριφίω.

330 A ἐν αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ γήρῳ) bene Richards.

330 B Ποῖον ἐπεκτησάμην (= τί ἐπεκτησάμην): facete tanquam indi-
gnabundus haec respondet.

Ποί<ον> ἐπεκτησάμην, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκратες, <ὅς> μέσος κτέ.

Fortasse τῆς νῦν <οὐσίας> οὐσης.

Pro ξυγγενέσθαι apparet scribendum esse ξυγγίγνεσθαι.

¹ Fortasse οὐδὲ <ν> ζῶντες.

- 330 E** Necessario scribendum est ἡ καί, ὥσπερ ἤδη ἐγγυτέρω ὢν τῶν ἐκεῖ, μᾶλλον τι καθορῶν αὐτά.
Fortasse scribendum etiam ὑποψίας γ' οὖν.
- 331 A** καὶ ἀγαθή—γηροτρόφος, ὡς καὶ Πίνδαρος λέγει (nisi forte omit-tendum illud γηροτρόφος).
Εὖ οὖν λέγει θαυμαστῶς ὡς omisso σφόδρα, quippe quod idem valeat atque θαυμαστῶς ὡς.
- 331 B** Per verba quae sunt τὸ γὰρ... χρήματα definitur ex mente Cephalī notio iustitiae (δικαιοσύνης).
μέγα μέρος εἰς τοῦτο=μέγα μέρος τοῦτον (τούτου cum συμβάλλεται iungendum), quod tamen ambiguum fuisset.
- 331 C** τοῦτο δ' αὐτό, τὴν δικαιοσύνην, κτέ. Summa aviditate Socrates arripit occasionem ac materiem disputandi.
- 331 C** Haud accurate repetit Socrates Cephalī definitionem.
- 331 D** Πάνυ μὲν οὖν verba hoc loco refragantis sunt.
Οὐκ οὖν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ, ὁ Πολέμαρχος.
- 331 E** τὸ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἐκάστῳ ἀποδιδόναι δίκαιόν ἐστι: logicam rationem sententiae si spectamus intellegenda haec sunt quasi sint: τὸ δίκαιόν ἐστι τὸ . . . ἀποδιδόναι.
μὴ σωφρόνως: parum accurate dictum pro μανέντι.
- 332 A** ὅς ἂν τῷ χρυσίον ἀποδιδῶ scribendum esse ex temporum ratione clare apparet.
- 332 B** γίγνεται=γενήσεσθαι μέλλη.
οὐχ οὕτω=οὐ τοῦτο.
τύχῃ ὀφειλόμενον: potuisset, nisi fallor, etiam τυγχάνῃ ὀφειλόμενον.
- 332 C** τὸ δίκαιον δ' εἴη: pro τὸ δ. ὅ, τι εἴη, quod fortasse rescribendum. τοῦτ' εἴη δίκαιον: parum accurate dictum, quod vitium e Graeci sermonis ingenio pendet.
- 332 E** πρὸς τὸν τῆς θαλάττης κίνδυνον <καὶ ἀσφάλειαν> ?
ἐν τίνι πράξει: Socrati quidem, ut ex interrogationibus eius cum praecedentibus tum insequentibus plane apparet, haec verba non aliud significant atque πῶς πράττοντας: Polemarchus autem ea intellegit quasi significarent τί πράττων (s. ποιῶν), neque id animadvertere videtur Socrates, ut qui respondeat quasi Polemarcho rite responsum reddiderit, Εἰεν enim dicit. Sed continuat interrogationem suam quasi Polemarchus non Ἐν τῷ προσπολεμεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνυμαχεῖν, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ dixisset, sed huius modi quid: Πολεμοῦσιν, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ.

332 E Καὶ μὴ πλέουσι δὲ (non δὴ).

333 A Πρὸς τὰ ξυμβόλαια : Haud apte ad interrogationem respondet Polemarchus ; Socrates enim sic interrogaverat : τὴν δικαιοσύνην πρὸς τίνος χρεῖαν ἢ κτῆσιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ φαίης ἂν χρήσιμον εἶναι ;

333 B πεπτευτικός : ludi latrunculorum peritus. At qui fit ut adiectiva in—ικός desinentia apud Graecos—praesertim Atticos—peritiae plerumque notionem complectantur ? Inde, nisi fallor, quod feminina eorum adiectivorum in substantiva transierant, quibus in substantivis auditur τέχνη, ars s. peritia. Atque e substantivis illis in adiectiva ea vis quasi redundabat.

333 E Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ νόσον ὅστις δεινὸς φυλάσασθαι, καὶ λαθεῖν οὗτος δεινότατος ἐμποιῆσαι ;

Valde captiose hic interrogat Socrates. Non est morbus quasi quidam ictus qui et repelli et infligi potest. Neque causa est cur notio clam morbi inferendi atque infligendi hoc loco inducatur. Λαθεῖν verbum sic inductum eo tantum explicari potest quod Socrati iam videtur obversari cogitatio ea quam insequente enuntiato verbis exprimit de consiliis hostium surripiendis.

334 A Ἀλλὰ μὴν στρατοπέδου γε ὁ αὐτὸς φύλαξ ἀγαθὸς ὅσπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων κλέψαι καὶ βουλεύματα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις. Supplenda necessario sunt haec : <φύλαξ ἀγαθὸς ἐστίν>. At istud quidem absurdum est supplementum. Rescribendum ergo : στρατόπεδόν γε ὁ αὐτὸς φυλάξ<αι> ἀγαθός.

334 C Τούτοις ἄρα κτέ. : i. e. τοῖς ἄρα οὕτως ἀμαρτάνουσιν s. οὕτως ἔχουσιν.

334 D Κατὰ δὴ τὸν σὸν λόγον τοὺς μὴδὲν ἀδικοῦντας δίκαιον κακῶς ποιεῖν. Hoc verborum contextu omnino non possunt recte se habere haec. Laborat enim δὴ particula. Ac cogitabam sane de δὲ particula pro δὴ substituenda. At ne sic quidem recte se habet argumentatio. Qua de causa conicio turbatum esse verborum vel potius enuntiatorum ordinem inde ab illo Ἄλλ' ὅμως quod est
334 C. Pristinam consecutionem sic restitutam velim :

Ἄλλὰ μὴν οἷ γε ἀγαθοὶ δίκαιοί τε καὶ οἱοὶ μὴ ἀδικεῖν.

Ἀληθῆ.

Ἄλλ' ὅμως δίκαιον τότε τούτοις τοὺς μὲν πονηροὺς ὠφελεῖν,
τοὺς δ' ἀγαθοὺς βλάπτειν.

Φαίνεται.

Κατὰ δὴ τὸν σὸν λόγον τοὺς μὴδὲν ἀδικοῦντας δίκαιον κακῶς
ποιεῖν.

- 335 A** Κελεύεις δὴ ἡμᾶς προσθεῖναι τῷ δικαίῳ καί, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἐλέγομεν —λέγοντες δίκαιον εἶναι τὸν μὲν φίλον εὖ ποιεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἐχθρὸν κακῶς—, νῦν πρὸς τοῦτ' ὥδε λέγειν, ὅτι κτέ.
- 335 C** 'Ἄλλ' ἡ δικαιοσύνη οὐκ ἀνθρωπεῖα ἀρετή; In eis quae insecuntur ita ratiocinatur Socrates quasi inverti possint enuntiati cuiuscunque subiectum et praedicatum neque de significatione totius enuntiati quidquam detrahi aut deminui. At id aperte falsum.
- 336 D** ἐφοβούμην: at iam supra dictum est δέισαντες διεπτοήθημεν (336 B).
- 336 E** < > οἱ οὔτε σύ, ὦ φίλε· ἀλλ', οἶμαι, οὐ δυνάμεθα. Com-
pluria hic intercidisse arbitror.
- 337 C** Εἶεν . . . ἦν δ' ἐγώ· Locus corruptus quem ad sanandum equidem non valeo.
- 337 E** Attendenda est huius loci constructio: ἵνα Σωκράτης τὸ εἰωθὸς διαπράξῃται, αὐτὸς μὲν μὴ ἀποκρίνηται, ἄλλον δ' ἀποκρινόμενον λαμβάνη λόγον καὶ ἐλέγχῃ (pro αὐτὸς μὲν μὴ ἀποκρίνεσθαι κτέ.). λαμβάνειν λόγον καὶ ἐλέγχειν h. l. vix aliud quidquam significare potest atque orationem accipere et examinare s. redarguere.
Oppositio est hoc loco inter μὴ εἰδὼς μηδὲ φάσκων εἰδέναι et οἶεται (quod verbum resumit eadem significatione ἡγέται).
ἀπειρημένον αὐτῷ εἶη: delendum illud εἶη, nam requiritur participium absolutum.
- 338 A** Εἰπόντος δ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτα.
φιλονικεῖν πρὸς τὸ: Fortasse φιλονικεῖν deletο πρὸς τὸ.
- 338 C-D** In verbis quae sunt εἰ Πουλυδάμας ἡμῶν κρείττων ὁ παγκρατισ-
ταστῆς καὶ αὐτῷ ξυμφέροι κτέ. copulam desideramus in priore enuntiati membro. Id fortasse post παγκρατιαστῆς addendum ut sit παγκρατιαστῆς <έστι>.
- 339 A** Subaudiendum est alio atque ante sensu verbum λέγεις in εἰ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἢ μή (verum autem si id sit necne); nam in ξεμαθον ὁ (=ὁ, τι sive τί) λέγεις verbum quod est λέγεις non *dicas* significat sed *dicere velis*.
ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν: = ἀλλ' ὅτι γε.
- 339 C** ἀναμάρτητοι: = οὐχ οἶοι ἀμαρτεῖν, ut apparet ex eis quae in-
secuntur.
In τίθεσθαι ἑαντοῖς verbum medium adhibitum ex dativo pro-
nominis reflexivi inde suspensi explicandum erat. Sed postea sine ulla quae quidem apparet necessitate iterum iterumque usurpatur verbum medium, cum ante illud τίθεσθαι ἑαντοῖς suo et

proprio significato adhibetur verbum activum in locutione quae est νόμους τιθέναι. Nam de legumlatore non de populo leges iubente ac sanciente agitur.

339 E ἂ ἐκεῖνοι προσέταξαν idem significare videtur quod ἂ ἄν ἐκεῖνοι προστάξωσιν.

In eis quae secuntur sic distinguendum: ἄρα τότε (i.e. ὅταν οἱ μὲν κτέ.), ὧ σ. Θ., οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον (sc. ἐστι) συμβαίνειν αὐτὸ οὐτως δίκαιον εἶναι ποιεῖν;—τοῦναντίον ἣ ὃ σὺ (fort. ὡς σὺ) λέγεις· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ κρείττονος κτέ.

ἀξύμφορον δὴ που idem valet quod ἀξύμφορον δὴ, οἶμαι. Supra τοῖς δὲ (sc. ἀρχομένοις) δίκαιον εἶναι φῆς idem valet atque τοῖς δὲ δίκαιον ἦ, ὡς φῆς σὺ, κτέ.

340 A Ἐὰν σὺ γ', ἔφη, αὐτῷ μαρτυρήσης, ὁ Κλειτοφῶν ὑπολαβών. Cf. 331 D Οὐκ οὖν, ἔφη, ἐγώ, ὁ Πολέμαρχος, τῶν γε σῶν κληρονόμος.

καὶ τί, ἔφη, δεῖ (pro δείται).

340 B In verbo ἔλεγειν ante ὃ ἡγοῖτο posito duae significationes dicendi et dicere volendi sic in unum coactae atque quasi conglutinatae sunt vix ut divelli aut distingui possint.

Attendendum est infra 340 C diserte dici non ἔλεγες sed ἐβούλου λέγειν, cum plerumque quasi furtim usurpetur λέγειν verbum λέγειν βούλεσθαι significans.

340 C τι<νὰ> καὶ ἑξαμαρτάνειν.

340 D κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν scribendum. Error ex perperam lectis litteris uncialibus ΚΑΤΑΥΤΗΝ ortus. Bis enim sibi visus est videre librarius aliquis litteras ΤΑ.

ἣ λογιστικόν, ὅς ἂν ἐν λογισμῷ ἁμαρτάνῃ, κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἁμαρτίαν delete τότε ὅταν ἁμαρτάνῃ.

340 E Legendum puto νῦν δὴ ἀποκρίνασθαι.

341 E σῶμά ἐστι πονηρὸν· quid significet illud πονηρὸν, videlicet imperfectum, ex iis quae insecuntur elucet. Eadem autem notio subest illi πονηρά quod legitur 342 A.

342 A ὥσπερ ὀφθαλμοὶ . . . ἐκποριούσης : = ὥσπερ σῶμα ἱατρικῆς προσδεῖται. In priore enuntiato seu enuntiatii membro ἀρετῆς idem prope valet quod supplementi. Cf. 342 B προσδεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτῆς πονηρίαν τὸ ξυμφέρον σκοπεῖν· quae verba idem fere videntur valere atque προσδεῖται πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆς ἀρετὴν, atque ut verbo rem praeci-dam πονηρία hoc loco imperfectio valet, ἀρετὴ autem perfectio. Sed tamen attendendum erat illud ἀρετῆς cum scriberet Plato iam de alio eiusdem vocabuli significato eum videri cogitasse. Nam

ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὄτα vocabula si spectamus, ἀρετῆς iam ibi ubi positum est significare videtur *muneris* vel *officii*, neque vero iure est dubitandum quin duo quasi fila cogitationis hic nodo vix extricabili complicata sint, vel verius fortasse prius enuntiati membrum colorem ac plus etiam quam colorem ex insequente traxerit.

ἐπ' αὐτοῖς: SC. τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ὤσιν.

342 B οὔτε αὐτῆς οὔτε ἄλλης προσδεῖται: = οὔτε αὐτῆς δεῖται οὔτε ἄλλης πρὸς αὐτῇ.

ἔωσπερ ἂν ... ἐστὶ... haec interpretationis vice funguntur illius ὀρθῇ οὔσα. An pro ἀκριβῆς ὅλη ἤπερ ἐστὶ rescibendum ἀκριβῶς κτέ.?

342 D ἐπεχειρεῖ δὲ περὶ αὐτὰ μάχεσθαι: SC. πρὶν ξυνωμολογήσθαι. Sic posito ἐπεχειρεῖ post ξυνωμολόγησε obscuratur aliquamdiu saltem imperfecti ratio.

343 B ἀγαθὸν = ξυμφέρον.

παχύνειν αὐτοὺς: αὐτοὺς = τοὺς ποιμένας καὶ τοὺς βουκόλους. Cf. σκοπεῖν αὐτοὺς infra.

Legendum esse censeo ἄλλως πως ἡγῇ διακεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἢ ὥσπερ ἂν τις πρὸς πρόβατα. Illud διακεῖσθαι coniecit Faesi. διατεθείη quod post πρόβατα in codicibus exstat expunxi ego tamquam supplementum perverse inculcatum, nam quo tandem modo expediendus fuit aoristus sic positus ut perfectum aequiperasset?

343 C καὶ οὕτω πόρρω εἶ: atque adeo erras.

ἄλλότριος)(οἰκείος (alienus)(proprius).

ξυμφέρον)(βλάβη.

Verba τοῦ κρείττονός τε καὶ ἄρχοντος per chiasmum opponuntur verbis τοῦ πειθουμένου τε καὶ ὑπηρετούντος. Post ἡ δὲ ἀδικία intercidisse suspicor καὶ τὸ ἄδικον.

τοῦναντίον = contra.

οἱ δ' (= οἱ ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐηθικοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι) ἀρχόμενοι ποιοῦσι τὸ ἐκείνου (= τοῦ ἄρχοντος) ξυμφέρον.

αὐτῷ ad ἐκείνον referendum. Sententia loci est haec: et felicem illum efficiunt dum ei subserviunt. Opposita sunt inter se ἐκείνον et ἑαυτοὺς pronomina.

343 D σκοπεῖσθαι = σκοπεῖν.

εἰσφοραὶ)(λήψεις.

ὅταν τε ... ὅταν τε = ὅταν μὲν ... ὅταν δὲ.

- 343 E** καὶ γὰρ . . . ἄρχῃ: adversativa non causali hic est opus coniunctione. Pro καὶ γὰρ, *etenim* substituerim καὶ μὲν, *atque*.
- 344 A** εὐδαίμων)(ἄθλιος.
- 344 B** πρὸς τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν χρήμασι: compendiarie dictum pro πρὸς τῷ τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν χρήματα ἀφέλεσθαι.
αὐτοὺς: = ipsos.
- 344 C** οὕτως: = οὕτως ἀπεδείχθη ὅτι.
- 344 E** εἴτε χεῖρον εἴτε βέλτιον βιωσόμεθα ἀγνοοῦντες ὃ σὺ φῆς εἰδέναι: estne haec ipsius manus annon scripserit hoc ordine εἴτε βέλτιον εἴτε χεῖρον κτέ.?
- 345 A** ἃ βούλεται: attendendus verbi modus; non sunt haec pro ἃ ἂν βούληται sed protinus ἀτιναοῦν, *quaesuis*.
οὐ πείθει: sc. τοῦτο.
An amittendum τῆς δικαιοσύνης?
ταῦτα καὶ ἕτερος (omisso οὗν)?
- 345 B** πείσω: = δύναμαι πείσαι.
- 345 C** τὸ πρῶτον ὀριζόμενος: cum ab initio defines.
ἀκριβῶς φυλάξαι: aut post ἀκριβῶς aut ante illud δεῖν quod praecedit intercidisse suspicor σε pronomen, quod subiecti vice fungeretur si adesset, cum τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ποιμένα obiectum sit φυλάξαι verbi. Illud φυλάξαι idem valet atque τηρῆσαι, id est, intra finis propriarum suarum partium actionis continere.
Verba quae sunt καὶ μέλλοντα ἐστιάσεσθαι quasi additamentum sint explicantis alicuius vim quae illi δαιτυμόνα subest uncis saepta velim.
- 345 D** ὥστ' εἶναι βελτίστη: praeoptarim equidem βελτίστην.
- 346 E** ἐκὼν hoc loco (in ἐθέλιν ἐκόντα ἄρχειν) idem valet atque gratis, cum alias plerumque aut volens sit aut sciens.
αὐτοῖσιν: = ipsis.
- 347 A** γινγνώσκω)(οὐ ξυνῆκα.
ὡς . . . εἴρηκας: ὡς particula aut idem valet atque πῶς seu ὅπως aut emendanda.
- 347 A-B** An scribendum δι' ὃν ἐθέλουσιν ἄρχειν οἱ ἐπικεέστατοι ὅταν ἄρχωσιν?
- 347 B** ὅταν ἐθέλωσιν ἄρχειν· post ἄρχειν interrogationis signum ponendum.
- 347 D** An scribendum simpliciter ὃ τῷ ὄντι ἄρχων omisso quasi adscripto ἀληθινὸς adiectivo?

ὥστε πᾶς ἂν ὁ γινώσκων κτέ.: minime ferenda scriptura quod quidem ad ὥστε particulam attinet, pro qua equidem ὥς scriptum velim.

347 E εἰς αὐθις)(νῦν. Haec oppositio enuntiati formae minime apta.

Scribendum cum Astio συ οὖν πότερον et καὶ ποτέρως ἀληθεστέρως.

348 B Ἀν ὅσ' ἂν . . . λέγωμεν ?

Pro ὁποτέρως scribendum ποτέρως.

348 D Ita dialogi personis orationem distribuendam esse censeo ut Socratis sint verba quae sunt σὺ δὲ . . . λέγειν.

348 E ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τινές : haud absurde mihi facere videntur qui haec Gorgiae dialogi ratione habita iniecta esse putant.

349 A τῷ λόγῳ ἐπεξελεῖν σκοπούμενον : an secludendum τῷ λόγῳ ?

περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας corruptum.

τί δὲ σοί scribendum quoniam ὀpponuntur invicem σοί et τὸν λόγον.

349 B Pro οὐδὲ τῆς δικαίας equidem non graver reponere οὐδὲ ταύτης, nam quis ferre potest οὐδὲ τῆς δικαίας post eam interrogationis formulam quae praecessit ?

349 D οὐδέτερα : hoc vocabulum plurali numero sic usurpatum ex ἀμφότερα pendet.

τοιούτος ἄρα κτέ : sic intelligenda haec quasi sint τοιούτος ἄρα ἐστὶν ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν <οἱοί εἰσιν οὗτοι οἷσπερ ἔοικεν>.

μουσικὸν δὲ τινὰ ἕτερον δὲ ἄμουνσον.

349 E ἅπερ φρόνιμον : = ἥπερ φρόνιμον. ἃ δὲ ἄφρονα = ἧ δὲ ἄφρονα.

350 B σοφὸς)(ἀμαθής.

350 C ὧ γε ὅμοιος ἑκάτερος, τοιούτων καὶ ἑκάτερον εἶναι omisso εἴη emphaseos causa.

ὁμολογοῦμεν γάρ : γάρ = δηῖτα, vero.

350 E τοῦτο τοῖνυν ἐρωτῶ ὥπερ ἄρτι : an pro τοῦτο substituendum ταῦτ' ?

351 B πόλιν φαίης ἂν ἀδικον εἶναι : ἀδικον generis neutri.

πῶς γὰρ οὐ : scribendum non πῶς γὰρ οὐκ.

351 D Pro ἐγγιγνομένη corrigendum ἐγγενομένη.

352 C ἦσαν pro ἦεσαν scribendum.

ἡμιμόχθηροι : an legendum ἡμιτελεῖς ? nam praecedat ἀδικία.

353 A ἀρετὴ et κακία hic metaphorice usurpantur cum proprie ea vocabula adhiberi exspectaverimus, qua eorum significationis immutatione vitiosa fit ratiocinatio.

NOTE ON *SYMPOSIUM*, 179 C.¹

Although the words that I would endeavour here to correct occupy but a small space, I quote the passage in which they occur (*symp.* 179 B—D) in extenso, in order plainly to show them in their proper connection:—

καὶ μὴν ὑπεραποθνήσκειν γε μόνοι ἐθέλουσιν οἱ ἐρῶντες, οὐ<χ> [μόνον] ὅτι <οἱ> ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. τοῦτον δὲ καὶ ἡ Πελοπίου θυγάτηρ Ἀλκηστis ἱκανὴν μαρτυρίαν παρέχεται ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐβελήσασα μόνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανεῖν ὄντων αὐτῷ πατρός τε καὶ μητρός, οὓς ἐκείνη τοσοῦτον ὑπερεβάλετο τῇ φιλίᾳ διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα ὥστ' ἀποδείξει αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ὄντας τῷ νείει καὶ ὀνόματι μόνον προσήκοντας. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐργασαμένη τὸ ἔργον οὕτω καλὸν ἔδοξεν ἐργάσασθαι οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῖς ὥστε πολλῶν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐργασαμένων εὐαριθμήτοις δὴ τισιν ἔδοσαν τοῦτο γέρας οἱ θεοί, ἐξ Ἀιδου ἀνείναι² πάλιν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλ' α<ὕ> τὴν ἐκείνην³ ἀνείσαν ἀγασθέντες τῷ ἔργῳ. οὕτω καὶ θεοὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν ἔρωτα σπουδὴν τε καὶ ἀρετὴν μάλιστα τιμῶσιν. Ὅρφεά δὲ τὸν Οἰάγρου ἀτελῇ ἀπέπεμψαν ἐξ Ἀιδου φάσμα δειξάντες τῆς γυναικὸς ἐφ' ἣν ἦκεν, αὕτὴν δὲ οὐ δόντες, ὅτι μαλθακίζεσθαι ἐδόκει αἶτε ὦν κιθαρωδὸς καὶ οὐ τολμᾶν ἔνεκα τοῦ ἔρωτος ἀποθνήσκειν ὥσπερ Ἀλκηστis, ἀλλὰ διαμνηχανᾶσθαι ζῶν εἰσιέναι εἰς Ἀιδου.

Hommel's correction of ἀνείναι to ἀνείναι, which had forced itself upon me before I knew that he had made it, seems inevitable; albeit it has met with little or no favour with subsequent editors. The traditional reading is easily explained as due to the following ἀνείσαν.

As to the change that I would propose the following points must be noticed. First, there is a sharp antithesis implied between εὐαριθμήτοις—ψυχὴν and αὐτῆς (following the vulgate)—τῷ ἔργῳ; secondly, this antithesis is not expressed by the vulgate; thirdly, the position of τὴν ψυχὴν indicates that in the antithetical clause we should have a term contrasted with it; but τὴν ἐκείνης (sc. ψυχὴν) will not suffice. We gain help from the story of Orpheus where φάσμα and αὐτή, 'the real woman herself,' are contrasted. Reading αὐτὴν ἐκείνην we have the woman herself as σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴ contrasted with the mere ψυχὴ.

NOTE ON THE *APOLOGY*.⁴

Plato, *Apol.* 17 οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, ἢ τίς ἢ οὐδὲν ἀληθές

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. XI (1897), p. 159.]

² ἀνείναι MSS., em. Alexander Hommel in ed. *Symp.* Lipsiae 1834.

³ ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκείνης MSS. et edd.

⁴ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. XIV (1900), p. 20.]

εἰρήκασιν · ὑμεῖς δ' ἐμοῦ ἀκούσεσθε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν—οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δί', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κεκαλλιεπημένους γε λόγους, ὥσπερ οἱ τούτων, ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὀνόμασιν, οὐδὲ κεκοσμημένους · ἀλλ' ἀκούσεσθε εἰκῇ λεγόμενα τοῖς ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασι—πιστεύω γὰρ δίκαια εἶναι ἃ λέγω—καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν προσδοκησάτω ἄλλως · οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δήπου πρέποι, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὥσπερ μαιρακίῳ πλάττοντι λόγους εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι. I need not speak particularly of the chiastic double contrast at the beginning of this passage (οὔτοι $\vee$ ἐγὼ / ὑμεῖς $\wedge$ ἐμοῦ) nor of some other minor points. I have tried to make these clear by the way in which I have written and pointed the words. It is about a common misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the words from κεκαλλιεπημένους to ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασι that I wish to speak here. Stallbaum's explanation of these words, which has doubtless led many astray, runs thus:—Praeterea commemorat Socrates λόγους κεκοσμημένους, h.e. *orationes ornatas*, videlicet tropis, figuris, numero; in his enim rebus maxime cernitur κόσμος s. ornatus orationis. This way of interpreting, or rather misinterpreting, is due to failure to heed the chiastic contrast in the Greek and to misunderstanding of the meaning of κεκοσμημένους. κεκοσμημένους (λόγους) is contrasted with εἰκῇ λεγόμενα and κεκαλλιεπημένους λόγους ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὀνόμασιν with λεγόμενα τοῖς ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασι. κεκοσμημένους means 'marshalled,' 'ordered,' 'arranged,' as opposed to εἰκῇ λεγόμενα. We find something similar in Eur. *Med.* 576, where εἴ τοῦσδ' ἐκόσμησας λόγους may be, I think, most simply interpreted 'well have you marshalled these words.'

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE *REPUBLIC*.¹

In Plato *Republic*, 423 B, I propose to read for ὅσην δέι τὸ μέγεθος τὴν πόλιν ποιείσθαι, which seems to be dubious Greek, οἶαν δέι τὸ μέγεθος κτέ. The Greek equivalent of *tot* is οὕτω πολλοί (πολλά) or τοσούτοι (τοσαῦτα) τὸ πλῆθος (unless τοσούτοι alone is clearly shewn by the context to be = *tot*). But the resolution of τοσούτος is either οὕτω μέγας or τοιούτος τὸ μέγεθος (cf. Lysias 12. 1), or τηλικούτος τὸ μέγεθος (cf. Lysias 26. 23). Similarly the resolution of πόσοι or ὅσοι indicating multitude is πόσοι (ὅσοι) τὸ πλῆθος (cf. Dem. 29. 51); that of ὅσος indicating magnitude would be οἷος τὸ μέγεθος.—Incidentally I would amend Hdt. 4. 143 so as to read τοσούτο <τὸ> πλῆθος γενέσθαι ὅσοι <οἱ> ἐν τῇ

¹[From the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXXIV (1903), p. xxiii.]

ροιῇ κόκκοι, and Isocr. 4. 33 so as to read δωρε<ι> ἂν τοιαύτην τὸ μέγεθος εὐρεῖν.

In Plato's Republic, 470 C, we read¹: Ἑλληνας μὲν ἄρα βαρβάροις καὶ βαρβάροις Ἑλλησι πολεμεῖν μαχομένους τε φήσομεν καὶ πολεμίους φύσει εἶναι καὶ πόλεμον τὴν ἔχθραν ταύτην κλητέον. Ἑλληνας δὲ Ἑλλησιν, ὅταν τι τοιοῦτο δρῶσιν, φύσει μὲν φίλους εἶναι, νοσεῖν δ' ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ στασιάζειν καὶ στάσιν τὴν τοιαύτην ἔχθραν κλητέον. Here I believe we should read φύσει μὲν φιλοῦς εἶναι, and in general the formula holds good that ἐχθρός: φίλος :: πολέμιος: φίλιος. As the commoner word, φίλος has been substituted for φίλιος in the MSS. in not a few places. I note here the following: Lysias 12, 38 (read ἡ ὡς πόλεις πολεμίας οὔσας φιλίας ἐποίησαν), Xen. Anab. I, 3, 12 (read πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος φίλος ᾧ ἂν φίλιος ᾗ), ib. I, 6, 8 (read τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος, ἐμοὶ δὲ φίλιος καὶ πιστός).

¹ [From the Classical Review, Vol. XIV (1900), p. 22.]

MISCELLANEOUS GREEK AUTHORS.

ON THE INTRODUCTION TO APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, XI.¹

In the introduction to Appian's *Roman History* we read (cap. xi. init.) Τὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίων μεγέθει τε καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ διήνεγκε δι' εὐβουλίαν καὶ χρόνον κτέ. Here Schweighäuser annotates as follows: *Legendum puto μεγέθει τε καὶ χρόνῳ; δι' εὐβουλίαν καὶ εὐτυχίαν.* This Mendelssohn thinks plausible. But Appian wrote as the words stand. The chiastic contrast μέγεθος : εὐτυχία : : εὐβουλία : χρόνος is the key to the whole passage. At the end of this passage Appian says: ἕως ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι (χρόνος) κακοπαθοῦντές τε καὶ κινδυνεύοντες ἀγχωμάλως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸδε (μέγεθος) προήγαγον καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὤναντο διὰ τὴν εὐβουλίαν. Here we have: χρόνος : μέγεθος : : εὐτυχία : εὐβουλία. The thought is that *time* (and patience) has brought *greatness*; *good counsel* has brought *good fortune*. The difficulty is due to the fact that for the sake of the contrast Appian has used χρόνος in such a way that it is formally opposed to μέγεθος, whereas in fact the connotation 'patience' outweighs the denotation 'duration.'

NOTES ON BACCHYLIDES.²

ix. 22 sqq. Mr Kenyon punctuates κλεινοῖ βροτῶν, | οἱ τριέει κτέ. Either the comma should be omitted (cf. the punctuation of v. 50) or it should be placed between κλεινοὶ and βροτῶν. The meaning is not 'glorious among mortals are they that,' etc., but 'glorious are those among mortals that,' etc. It may be added here that the comma after Χάει in v. 27 should be removed. It is immaterial whether or not a comma be placed after ἔθειραν in v. 29.

xi. 8 sq. [βαθυ]πλοκάμων seems certainly right. Professor Blass's Στυγὸς in v. 9 gets rid of the difficulty about the appropriateness of the epithet. Professor Jebb's βαθυπλόκαμ' ὦ spoils the rhyme with ὀρθοδίκον, which may well be intentional (cf. vv. 22 sq., where ἀέλιος is answered by ἄματι πρὸς). Besides Bacchylides's manner of arranging words favours an adjective before κούρα, agreeing with the

¹ [From the Classical Review, Vol. XIV (1900), p. 22.]

² [From the Classical Review, Vol. XII (1898), pp. 394-395.]

substantive after it. Cf. xi. 28 sq. παγξένψ χαίταν ἐλαία γλαύκα, v. 19 sq. εὐρύανακτος ἄγγελος Ζηνὸς ἐρισφαράγου, v. 98 sq. καλυκοστεφάνου σεμνᾶς χόλον Ἀρτέμιδος λευκωλένου. In the last example two adjectives come first.

xi. 43-58. Perhaps Euripides did not have these verses in mind in writing *Bacch.* 23-38, but there are points of quite marked resemblance between the two passages. τὰς ἐξ ἐρατῶν ἐφόβησε | παγκρατῆς Ἦρα μελάθρων | Προΐτου, παραπλήγι φρένας | καρτερᾷ ζεύξας ἀνάγκα in Bacchylides might very well have served as model for τοιγάρ νιν αὐτὰς ἐκ δόμων ὕστρησ' ἐγὼ | μανίας · ὄρος δ' οἰκοῦσι παράκοποι φρενῶν in Euripides. Cf. the last verse and *Bacch.* 38 with Bacchyl. xi. 55. So too the daughters of Proetus were punished for something they said (φάσκον Bacchyl. xi. 50), the women of Thebes for something they denied (οὐκ ἔφασκον Eur. *Bacch.* 27). Add to all this the fondness of Euripides for describing madness and the consequent likelihood that the passage in Bacchylides would have stuck in his memory, and the resemblance between his verses and those of the older poet may well be thought more than superficial.

xvi. 35. I fail to see that there is any objection to the expression δαιμόνιον τέρας here. It would mean a 'portentous thing.' It is used for a 'portentous event' (or 'sight') by Sophocles in *Ant.* 375 (ἐς δαιμόνιον τέρας ἀμφινοῶ). This poem seems to have been familiar to Sophocles.

xvii. 20. Such a form as εἶρεν was not strange to the grammarians, to judge from the scholia on Hom. A 513 (καὶ εἶρετο δεύτερον αὐτῆς). Here the Venetian scholia give Δημήτριος ὁ Ἰξίων προπερισπᾷ παραλαμβάνων τὸ τό ἄρθρον and the Townleyan ὁ Ἰξίων 'καὶ εἶρε τὸ δεύτερον,' κακῶς. I forbear to discuss the merits of εἶρε τὸ as opposed to εἶρετο beyond remarking that Thetis does not properly 'ask' (in the sense of 'enquire') anything. But would the reading εἶρε τὸ have been suggested or regarded at all had the form εἶρε been strange in itself?

xvii. 82 sqq. ἀλλ' εὖ- | πάκτων ἐπ' ἱκρίων | σταθεῖς ὄρουσε. Here I venture to think we should substitute ἀπ' for ἐπ'. In Euripides, *Phoen.* 1223 sq., we find Ἐτεοκλέης δ' ὑπῆρξ' ἀπ' ὀρθίου σταθεῖς | πύργου κελεύσας σῖγα κηρύξαι στρατῶ, 'noch der Vorstellung,' as Dr Wecklein says, 'dass seine Worte von dorthen gehört wurden.' Cf. *Phoen.* 1009 στὰς ἐξ ἐπάλλεων ἄκρων and the other passages cited in Professor Jebb's valuable note on Soph. *Ant.* 411. Perhaps in *Phoen.* 1091

we should correct *πύργων ἐπ' ἄκρων* *στὰς* to *π. ἀπ' ἄκρων σ.* In *Soph. Ant.* 132 Mr Blaydes not unjustly queries whether we should not read *ἀπ' ἄκρων* for *ἐπ' ἄκρων*, and *ἀπ'* is found in V⁴ according to Professor Campbell.

DEMOSTHENES'S NICKNAME *ἀργᾶς*.¹

In Plutarch's *Demosthenes* we read (4. 5): 'Ὁ δὲ ἀργᾶς—καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ φασὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει γενέσθαι παρωνύμιον—ἢ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον ὡς θηριώδη καὶ πικρὸν ἐτέθη· τὸν γὰρ ὄφιν ἔνιοι τῶν ποιητῶν ἀργᾶν ὀνομάζουσιν· ἢ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὡς ἀνιώντα τοὺς ἀκροωμένους· καὶ γὰρ Ἀργᾶς τοῦνομα ποιητῆς ἦν νόμων πονηρῶν καὶ ἀργαλέων. Both these explanations of the nickname I believe to be wrong, and I also believe that the right explanation is to be found in Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*, where we now read in v. 114 sq.—thanks to the acumen of Blomfield and Hartung—these words: οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς βασιλεῦσι νεῶν, ὃ κελαινὸς ὃ δ' ἐξόπιν ἀργᾶς, which description of the two eagles is equivalent to: ὃ μὲν μελάμπυγος ὃ δὲ πύγαργος. Now what more natural than that some witty—or would-be witty—Greek should from this passage take a synonyme of *πύγαργος* (which, as opposed to *μελάμπυγος*, was used to describe a weakling) to throw at the head of the weak and frail Demosthenes?

If my explanation of the origin of the nickname is right, we should, of course, write it not *ἀργᾶς* but *ἀργᾶς*.

ON HELIODORUS, *AETHIOPICA*.²

Aethiop. 10. 14, 25 sqq. Bekk. τῆς γε μὴν κατὰ τὴν χροῖαν ἀπορίας φράζει μὲν σοὶ καὶ ἡ ταινία τὴν λύσιν, ὁμολογούσης ἐν αὐτῇ ταυτησὶ Περσίνης ἐσπακέναι τινὰ εἰδῶλα καὶ φαντασίας ὁμοιοτήτων ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν πρὸς σὲ ὁμιλίας ὁρωμένης. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ ἄλλως πιστώσασθαι βούλει, πρόκειται τὸ ἀρχέτυπον· ἐπισκόπει τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν, ἀπαράλλακτον ἐν τῇ γραφῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ κόρῃ δεικνυμένην.

All is right except the spaced words. These are senseless; but the following words of Persina's letter (4. 8. 35 sqq. [pp. 106 sqq.]) help us out: ἐπειδὴ δέ σε λευκὴν ἀπέτεκον, ἀπρόσφυλον Αἰθιοπῶν χροῖαν ἀπαναγάζουσιν, ἐγὼ μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐγνώριζον, ὅτι μοι παρὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα προσβλέψαι τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἢ γραφὴν παρασχοῦσα, κτέ. We may, therefore, read ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν πρὸς

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. XIX (1905), pp. 250-251.]

² [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. X (1896), p. 3.]

σὲ ὁμιλίαν ὀρωμένης. The gloss 'Ἀνδρομέδας wrongly inserted is the *fons et origo malorum*.

AD HERODOTUM.¹

Parvum illud prooemium Herodoti Historiae praefixum sic edi solet :

Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γίνηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωमाστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα ἀκλεᾶ γίνηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι. Quibus in verbis λεγόμενα pro γενόμενα verissime coniecit anno 1716 Stephanus Bergler². Neque id tamen satis: diligentem enim interrogem lectorem qua ratione ad ἔργα referri possint illa τὰ τε ἄλλα . . . ἀλλήλοισι. Quid autem quod statim insecuntur fabulae de Graecorum Asianorumque inimicitiarum fonte et origine varie utrimque narratae? Ne multa, totum quo de agitur locum sic refictum velim: Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, <γενομένη> ὡς μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γίνηται μήτε τὰ λεγόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γίνηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα <καὶ δὴ> καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

ON Παῖμα, πῆμα, HERODOTUS I. 67³.

Roberts (*Gk. Epig.* p. 48) says of the inscription Γόρτυνος τὸ παῖμα on an ancient coin of Gortyn in Crete that 'no satisfactory explanation has been offered of the word παῖμα,' though 'it has been suggested [see the references *ad loc. cit.*] that παῖμα: παῖω:: κόμμα (coin): κόπτω.' May we not see a support of this view in the oracle in Hdt. I, 67, in which καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κείται is understood as referring in τύπος ἀντίτυπος to hammer and anvil and in πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κείται to a suffering thing laid ready to produce suffering (τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιοῦνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται)? That is, may we not prefer to this, in part, forced interpretation of the oracle, taken down we must remember by ear, the following explanation? The general interpretation is correct, but the words πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κείται

¹ [From Mnemosyne, Vol. XXXIII (1905), p. 444.]

² Vid. Dorv. ad Charit. p. 9.

³ [From the Classical Review, Vol. VII (1893), p. 20.]

are to be understood as $\pi α ῖ μ' ἐ π ῖ π α ῖ μ α τ ῖ κ έ τ α ῖ$, in which the preposition $ἐ π ῖ$ has its normal sense, and this second half of the verse becomes but another expression for the former, which in turn should be slightly corrected to what I believe to have been its original form.

Thus we read:—

$κα ῖ τ ῡ π ο ϑ ἀ ν τ ῖ τ ῡ π ῳ, κα ῖ π α ῖ μ' ἐ π ῖ π α ῖ μ α τ ῖ κ έ τ α ῖ.$

$Ἐ π ῖ$ is, of course, to be understood with $ἀ ν τ ῖ τ ῡ π ῳ$ and $π α ῖ μ α$ is used first actively (instrument of striking), then passively (result of striking, object struck). Such ambiguity in the pronunciation of oracles as is assumed above may be illustrated by the *locus classicus* in Thucydides (4, 54, 2-3) concerning the oracle

$ἤ ξ ε ῖ Δ ω ρ ῖ α κ ῶ ϑ π ῶ λ ε μ ο ϑ κα ῖ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} λ ο ῖ μ ῶ ϑ \\ λ ῖ μ ῶ ϑ \end{array} \right\} ἄ μ' α ὔ τ ῳ.$

ENCORE HÉRODOTE I. 86.¹

La lettre de M. Keelhoff à M. Tournier sur Hérodote I, 86 (*Revue de Philologie*, xxi (1897), p. 179 sq.) m'a surpris. Si je ne me trompe, le savant auteur est dupe d'une sorte d'erreur d'optique. Il met sur la même ligne les deux locutions $ἐ ῖ ρ γ ε ῖ σ ε τ ῡ ῥ τ ο π ο ῖ ε ῖ ν$ et $ἐ ῖ ρ γ ε ῖ σ ε μ ῆ τ ῡ ῥ τ ο π ο ῖ ε ῖ ν$. Il est vrai que ces deux phrases s'emploient d'une manière générale dans le même sens; mais il n'est pas exact qu'on puisse les réduire toujours aux mêmes éléments. Car la phrase $ἐ ῖ ρ γ ε ῖ σ ε τ ῡ ῥ τ ο π ο ῖ ε ῖ ν$ est susceptible d'une double analyse. On peut la résoudre ou en $ἐ ῖ ρ γ ε ῖ$ et $σ ε τ ῡ ῥ τ ο π ο ῖ ε ῖ ν$ ou en $ἐ ῖ ρ γ ε ῖ σ ε$ et $τ ῡ ῥ τ ο π ο ῖ ε ῖ ν$. Dans le premier cas les mots $σ ε τ ῡ ῥ τ ο π ο ῖ ε ῖ ν$ forment une phrase objective équivalente à un accusatif de l'objet extérieur (ou accidentel). Dans le second cas l'infinitif $π ο ῖ ε ῖ ν$ se construit comme génitif (ou plutôt comme ablatif). Dans la phrase $ἐ ῖ ρ γ ε ῖ σ ε μ ῆ τ ῡ ῥ τ ο π ο ῖ ε ῖ ν$ au contraire les deux éléments sont $ἐ ῖ ρ γ ε ῖ σ ε$ et $μ ῆ τ ῡ ῥ τ ο π ο ῖ ε ῖ ν$, dont le deuxième n'est autre chose qu'un accusatif de l'objet intérieur ou, pour traduire l'expression employée par M. Koch dans sa grammaire, du contenu (*des Inhalts*). C'est en cherchant à donner plus distinctement l'allure d'un substantif à l'infinitif de la phrase $ἐ ῖ ρ γ ε ῖ σ ε τ ῡ ῥ τ ο π ο ῖ ε ῖ ν$ dans le second cas qu'on est arrivé à la formule $ἐ ῖ ρ γ ε ῖ σ ε τ ῡ ῦ τ ῡ ῥ τ ο π ο ῖ ε ῖ ν$; et c'est en employant le même procédé avec l'objet intérieur dans la phrase $ἐ ῖ ρ γ ε ῖ σ ε μ ῆ τ ῡ ῥ τ ο π ο ῖ ε ῖ ν$ qu'on a formé

¹ [From *Revue de Philologie*, Vol. XXII (1898), pp. 182-183]

la locution *ἔργει σε τὸ μὴ τοῦτο ποιῆν*. C'est là la distinction que M. Koch¹ a faite et dont M. Keelhoff ne semble pas avoir saisi la valeur, "à moins qu'on en étende l'application". Mais il me semble que l'application est déjà aussi étendue que possible. Lorsqu'on dit que la négation qui fait partie de la phrase où l'infinitif est traité en objet intérieur peut être insérée dans la phrase où l'infinitif se construit comme génitif, on admet que les Grecs ont mêlé illogiquement deux constructions bien disparates. Qu'ils aient fait un tel abus de la négation, au moins à l'époque classique, cela ne me semble pas très probable *a priori*; et les exemples ne sont pas du tout convaincants. Les manuscrits ont pu très facilement être défigurés sous la plume des copistes.

Quant à l'emploi du génitif avec *ῥύεσθαι* chez Hérodote, M. Keelhoff n'a pas tout à fait raison. Car le codex R offre le génitif construit avec ce verbe au livre ix, 76: *ῥύσαι με . . . δουλοσύνης*, leçon adoptée par M. Stein dans son édition de 1884. Dans son *Lexicon Herodoteum* s. v. *ῥύεσθαι*, Schweighäuser avait depuis longtemps écrit, à propos de ce dernier passage, "ubi perperam olim λῦσαι [au lieu de ῥύσαι] vulgo legebatur".

ON HERODOTUS II. 39.²

ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἶνον [κατὰ τοῦ ἱρήϊου] ἐπισπείσαντες καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν θεὸν σφάζουσι. I would strike out the words bracketed as a mere gloss on *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ*.

The older scholars found difficulty with the awkward *κατὰ* (i. e. in the Greek of Herodotus). Schweighäuser, *Lex. Herod.* s. u. *κατὰ*, says on this passage:

'Interpretatus sum *adversus victimam*; H. Stephanus, *supra hostiam*; Gronovius, *circa hostiam*.'

OF TWO PASSAGES IN HOMER.³

In commenting on Eurip. *Alc.* 64-69 I have called attention to the

¹ La traduction française citée par M. Keelhoff me semble obscurcir en quelque sorte le vrai sens de l'original. Les mots "mais—action" ne sont pas dans l'original (à moins qu'ils ne se trouvent dans une édition postérieure à la neuvième). Les mots "l'idée de l'action principale" forment une traduction libre des mots *des Inhalt*, "le contenu", —terme qui s'explique par ce que M. Koch dit § 83 en décrivant "l'accusatif du contenu" (*des Inhalts*).

² [From the Classical Review, Vol. VI (1892), p. 73.]

³ [From the Classical Review, Vol. XI (1897), pp. 242-243.]

retorical inversion of cause and effect in these verses and also to the close parallel to be found in Aesch. *Prom.* 918-923,—a parallel that extends even to the expansion of the τοῖος sentence by a ὅς δὴ sentence. Of course, however, the postponement of the τοῖος clause is the essential common factor. In a note on *Alc.* 332 sq. the same principle of arrangement is appealed to in defence of the traditional text (barring ἄλλως in v. 333, which should perhaps be changed, with Wakefield, to ἄλλων). Here οὕτως with an adjective is equal to a specific τοῖος (τοῖά). This defence was, I still think (with all due respect to Mr Hadley), sound. But it is not my object at present to discuss the instances of this form of sentence in the *Alcestis*, or in the Tragedians at large (cf., however, for Sophocles *Ai.* 560-563), but to deal with earlier examples of it.

A parallel to the first two passages cited above (*Alc.* 64-69, *Prom.* 918-923) is to be found in Hom. Δ 387-390:—

ἔνθ' οὐδὲ ξεινός περ ἐὼν ἱππηλάτα Τυδεὺς
 τάρβει, μῦνος ἐὼν πολέσιν μετὰ Καδμείουσιν,
 ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἀεθλεύειν προκαλίζετο, πάντα δ' ἐνίκα
 ῥηϊδίως· τοίη οἱ ἐπὶ ρροθος ἦεν Ἀθήνη·

The parallel would be complete in extenso, if the last verse were followed by a relative clause beginning with ἣ δὴ (e. g. ἣ δὴ οἱ μέγα θάρσος ἐνὶ στήθεσσι ἐνῆκεν). With Δ 389-90 we may compare E 807-8, even if v. 808 be an interpolation. E 826-8 has the former sentence in the imperative, but the τοῖος clause is like (indeed, is nearly identical with) that in E 808 and that in Δ 390. (With E 826-8 we may compare Ξ 342 sq. with O 254.) In all these passages we have a form of the qualitative τοῖος, and we may find another case, or rather, perhaps, an extension, of this at δ 227 (cf. Eur. *Med.* 718 and 789), if we lighten the pointing at the close of v. 226. Similar to this last is the use of the quantitative τόσος in ι 243. Other (and better) instances of forms of τόσος in the type of sentence we are considering are: ξ 326, τ 295, E 836, I 546. The demonstrative adverb οὕτω, without a following adjective, appears similarly used at ι 262. The absence of the adjective differentiates (though not essentially) this example from *Alc.* 332 sq.

We come now to the passage that prompted the writing of this note—A 418. According to the traditional text Thetis says to Achilles (v. 414 sqq.):—

ὦ μοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, τί νύ σ' ἔτρεφον αἰνὰ τεκοῦσα ;
 αἰθ' ὄφελες παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀδάκρυτος καὶ ἀπῆμων 415
 ἦσθαι, ἐπεὶ νυ τοι αἶσα μίνυνθά περ, οὐ τι μάλα δῆν,
 νῦν δ' ἄμα τ' ὠκύμορος καὶ οἰζυρὸς περὶ πάντων
 ἔπλεο · τῷ (Οἱ τῷ) σε κακῇ αἵσῃ τέκον ἐν μεγάροισιν.

But 'therefore ill-starred did I bring thee forth in the hall' is not what we expect here, and I have for some time believed a slight change in the text (really only an interpretation of the MS. tradition) to be necessary. Write τῶς σε κακῇ αἵσῃ τέκον ἐν μεγάροισιν, and we have an instance of the form of expression we have been discussing: 'So ill-starred did I bear thee in the hall' (= οὕτω σε κτέ.).

This seems to be the only case in Homer where τῶς has given place to τῷ (τῷ): but, if we examine the few passages in which τῶς appears (we may well think, with van Leeuwen, that it was once more frequent), we shall find one that should, it seems, by a trifling transposition be reduced to the type of sentence we are dealing with. In τ 232 sqq. we read:—

τὸν δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνόησα περὶ χροὶ σιγαλόεντα,
 οἶόν τε κρομύοιο λοπὸν κάτα ἰσχαλείοιο,
 τῶς μὲν ἔην μαλακός, λαμπρὸς δ' ἦν ἥελιος ὥς.
 ἦ μὲν πολλαί γ' αὐτὸν ἐθήγησαντο γυναῖκες. 235

Here the οἶον clause is explanatory of σιγαλόεντα. The τῶς sentence immediately following, with its μαλακός, which is not in point after ἰσχαλείοιο, and its λαμπρὸς ἥελιος ὥς, which makes a homely comparison ridiculous by contrast, is, furthermore, awkwardly and unusually connected with v. 235. We have only to reverse the order of vv. 234 and 235 (the present order is easily to be explained by a careless reader's ready connection of τῶς with οἶον and by the similar position of μὲν in the two verses) to have the arrangement that is normal in such sentences, as well as a greatly improved sense,—indeed, I would fain believe, the original form of the passage. Thus we shall read:—

τὸν δὲ χιτῶν' κτέ.
 ἦ μὲν πολλαί γ' αὐτὸν ἐθήγησαντο γυναῖκες · 235
 τῶς μὲν ἔην μαλακός, λαμπρὸς δ' ἦν ἥελιος ὥς. 234

There is a passage in Aeschylus (*Prom.* 907 sqq.) that belongs with those discussed above, and should be read thus:—

ἦ μὴν ἔτι Ζεὺς, καίπερ αὐθάδη φρονῶν,
 ἔσται ταπεινός · τοῖον ἔξαργύεται κτέ.

Faith in the text of the Mediceus has led scholars, since Hermann, to reject the vulgate for αὐθάδης φρενῶν in v. 907 (though that does not so much concern us now) and to cling to οἶον where τοῖον is clearly demanded, as Robortello long ago saw.

NOTES ON HOMER.¹

In Hom. *Odyssey* α 108 αὐτοί seems to be generally misunderstood. The passage should, I am quite sure, be understood thus (106-109) :

εὔρε δ' ἄρα μνηστῆρας ἀγήνορας · οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα
 πεσσοῖσι προπάροιθε θυράων θυμὸν ἔτερπον,
 ἦμενοι ἐν ῥινοῖσι βοῶν οὓς ἔκτανον, αὐτοί ·
 κήρυκες δ' αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὄτρηροὶ θεράποντες κτέ.

'They themselves were playing at πεσσοί, seated on hides of oxen that they had killed, while their heralds,' &c.

In Hom. *Iliad* Z, after Antia's accusation of Bellerophon to Proetus, we read (166) :

ὥς φάτο, τὸν δὲ ἄνακτα χόλος λάβεν, οἶον ἄκουσεν ·
 κτεῖναι μὲν ῥ' ἄλλείνε — σεβάσασατο γὰρ τό γε θυμῷ—
 πέμπε δέ μιν Δυκίηνδε, πόρεν δ' ὃ γε σήματα λυγρά, κτέ.

In the note to v. 167 in the Leaf-Bayfield edition we read: 'ῥ': probably a corruption of an original ϝ' = ἐ, as in 158 above, Δ 524, &c.' (Similarly in Mr. Leaf's large edition.) Now, however the case may stand with the other verses cited, I am pretty well convinced that the notion that ῥ' here represents ϝ' = ἐ is wrong, and for this reason. After the statement that the king became angry at the monstrous accusation he had heard, we naturally expect a statement of what he did *in consequence* of his anger, or, in other words, we expect a sentence linked to what has gone before by a conjunction meaning 'so,' 'therefore,' 'accordingly': and that is just what the traditional text gives us in ῥ' = ἄρα (οὖν, δῆ).

An οὖν or δῆ standing after the μὲν in the first member of a μὲν—δὲ complex and introducing to the Greek mind the whole complex, to the modern mind the δὲ-clause, is a phaenomenon so common in Attic Greek that it ought to be needless to cite passages. However, inasmuch as the first chapter of the *Anabasis* seems to be commonly misread, it may be well to place side by side with the Homeric

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. XIV (1900), pp. 21-22.]

period just quoted the following: Xen. *An.* i. I, 1 sq. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσθένει Δαρείος καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετό οἱ τῷ παίδι ἀμφοτέρω παρεῖναι · ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε, Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κτέ., (= παρόντος οὖν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Κῦρον μεταπέμπεται κτέ.), *An.* i. I, 4 βουλεύεται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ', ἣν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει αὐτ' ἐκείνου · Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα, ὅστις δ' ἀφικνοῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας οὕτω διατιθεῖς ἀπεπέμπετο ὥστε ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς πολεμῆν τε ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν καὶ εὐνοικῶς ἔχουεν αὐτῷ, τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἡθροίζειν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτούμενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρσκευότατον λάβοι βασιλεία · ὧδε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν. In this passage the connection of thought seems pretty clearly to demand the text as given above. The words τῷ Κύρῳ after ὑπῆρχε disturb the connection of thought, and were probably added by some one who did not understand the construction ὑπῆρχε φιλοῦσα = ἥδη ἐφίλει. The words of Plutarch in *Artux.* 2, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τὸν Κῦρον μᾶλλον φιλοῦσα, seem to show that τῷ Κύρῳ was not in Plutarch's text. (Plutarch [*Artux.* 1] and Lucian [*hist. conscr.* 23] read at the beginning of the *Anabasis* what is probably the right order Δ. καὶ Π. παῖδες γίνονται δύο.) Similarly the word Ἀρταξέρξην was added after τὸν βασιλεύοντα by some reader. ἑαυτῷ seems necessary after ὥστε because of the contrast with βασιλεῖ. παρ' ἑαυτῷ is contrasted with παρὰ βασιλέως: so βαρβάρων with the subsequent Ἑλληνικὴν. τὸν βασιλεύοντα followed (twice) by a form of βασιλεύς (βασιλέως, βασιλεῖ) is neat and very Greek.

DE ΘΑΝΑΤΩΙ ΚΑΚΩΙ ET INFORMI LETO.¹

Apud Homerum Γ 173-5 Helena Priamo dicit: ὡς ὄφελεν θάνατός μοι ἀδεῖν καὶ ὅς ὅποτε δεῦρο | νείε σφ' ἐπόμεν θάλαμον γνωτούς τε λιπούσα, | παῖδά τε τηλυγέτην καὶ ὀμηλικὴν ἑρατεινήν. Qui locus male habuit Leaf, virum Ὀμηρικώτατον, qui in utraque editione inter alia hoc adnotat: "173. θάνατος . . ἀδεῖν, a curious phrase apparently founded on the familiar ἦνδανε βουλή". Sed quam h. l. odorari sibi visus est vir ille doctissimus difficultatem, speciosiore eam equidem quam veriore esse arbitror. Vix opus esse puto ut lectorem admoneam κακὸς adiectivum a Leafio epitheti quod dicitur ornantis loco haberi, ut θάνατος κακὸς eodem redeat quo simplex θάνατος: quod prorsus

¹ [MS. note dated Nov. 29, 1901.]

aliter se habere equidem opinor. Satis enim diu iam est cum in margine editiunculae cuiusdam priorum Iliadis carminum meum ipsius in usum significavi et Γ 173 et Α 284 κακός adiectivum cum substantivo suo ita in unum quasi coalescere atque cohaerere ut ex duobus si non unum vocabulum at notio una fiat. Hoc enim loco Achilles laudatur qui pugnam adversam sive cladem ab Achivis defendat. Poetae verba haec sunt : ἔρκος Ἀχαιοῖσιν πέλεται πολέμοιο κακοῖο. In altero autem loco Helena id factum fuisse optat ut mortem sibimet ipsa conscisceret priusquam Paridem sequeretur. Solus vero, quod sciam, rationem illius θάνατος κακός recte explicavit Keep nostras, qui ad ea verba annotationem tam veram quam brevem apposuit hanc : “ i. e. ‘suicide’ ”. Conferre possumus Α 10 νοῦσον κακὴν = λοιμόν. — Atqui, nisi me fallo, eodem modo ea verba intellexit Vergilius, qui, ut aperte confitear, in causa est ut haec nunc scribam. Is enim Aen. 12, 603 mortem quam sibi ipsa conscivit regina Latinorum sic narrat : et nodum *informis leti* trabe necit ab alta ; qui versus vix dubium esse potest quin maiorem quidem partem ex Od. λ 278 expressus sit. Nam illic Epicasta ad inferos descendisse dicitur ἀψαμένη βρόχον αἰπὺν ἀφ’ ὑψηλοῖο μελάθρον, postquam nexit nodum ab alta trabe. At enim verborum quae sunt *informis leti* nobis est ratio reddenda, quae verba mihi quidem ex illo θάνατος κακός expressa esse videntur. Neque admiratione dignum est si Vergilius in ea carminis sui parte quae Iliadem plus quam Odysseam respicit atque redolet componenda dum forte aliquando Odysseam compilat, quod inde desumpserit, id Iliadeo, ut ita dicam, flosculo exornare studuerit¹. Graece interpretari possumus Vergilii versum hunc in modum : καὶ ἀπτεται βρόχον θανάτου κακοῦ ἀφ’ ὑψηλοῦ μελάθρον.

ON LUCIAN, *TIMON* 18.²

In his interesting *Notes on Lucian*³, Professor Francis G. Allinson discusses *Timon* 18 in a way that I cannot believe to be sound : I venture, therefore, to offer another interpretation and discussion of

¹ [For conflation from Homer, see Sophocles, *Trachinians*, 145 sq. with Jebb's note. See also above, *Studies in Sophocles's Trachinians*, p. 7, note 1.]

² [From the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXIX (1898), pp. vii-ix.]

³ Published in Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XVII, pp. xi.-xv.

that passage and to seek to maintain the integrity of the traditional text where Mr. Allinson believes it to be corrupt.

It seems probable to Professor Allinson that Lucian wrote κοσκίνον in this passage, instead of the traditional κοφίνον. Before examining his three arguments as such, I may be pardoned for dwelling for a moment on a minor but not altogether unimportant point.

In Plato, *Gorg.* 493 B, it appears highly probable that in the words ἐτέρῳ τοιούτῳ τετρημένῳ κοσκίνῳ the participle τετρημένῳ is merely a gloss on τοιούτῳ. (See Mr Adam's note on τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἀκουσίῳ in *Apol.* 26 A, and Thompson on *Gorg.* 493 B.) The view that τετρημένῳ is a gloss seems to be supported by the next sentence in the *Gorgias*. It may be added that Professor Allinson seems guilty of an inaccuracy when he speaks of a "perforated sieve." τετρημένος (so, too, τετρυπημένος) may mean either "perforated" or "having interstices."

Of Professor Allinson's three arguments I am tempted to say, στέγειν οὐ δύνανται. In the first place, the reference to the jar of the Danaids does not "immediately" follow the clause in which κοφίνον occurs. What immediately follows is a clause involving quite a different figure and standing as a barrier between the κόφινος and the πῖθος. We need not, therefore, treat the second and third arguments until we have examined the earlier part of the passage in its relation to what follows.

Wealth, reluctant to revisit Timon, asks Zeus: "Will he (Timon) ever stop bailing me out as fast as he can, as though from a basket with a hole in it, before I have wholly flowed in; wishing to get ahead of the inflow, lest, tumbling in faster than he can bail me out, I overflow him?" This translation fails to do justice to the original in one particular,—that the words ὥσπερ ἐκ κοφίνου τετρυπημένου precede the metaphor. Wealth is naturally first thought of as gold, with which conception a basket is not at all inconsistent. Then wealth is said to flow in, an easy shift of language,—in fact, hardly a shift at all (cf., e. g., *diall. mar.* 12, 1; *Juḗp. trag.* 2; *de merc. cond.* 7; and—particularly—*diall. inf.* 11, 4). But the notion of flowing, as specifically applicable to water, is insisted on in ἐπιρροήν. But the figure shifts in the next clause. One need not insist on the fact that in coupling ὑπέραντλος and ἐπιπεσών Lucian is uniting liquid with solid;

ἐπικλύσω strictly excludes the image of any small vessel and suggests that we have passed, unwarned, to the bailing of a leaky ship (cf. *navig.* 16). This might be thought decisive against the proposed change of reading, but there is more to follow.

The sentence beginning with ὥστε is to be connected with the preceding by supplying a slight ellipsis. "And so [if I go to him] I expect to carry water to the jar of the Danaids and to bail in to no purpose, because the vessel is not watertight, but what runs in will be poured out almost before it has run in; so much wider [in proportion to the inflow] is the gap in the jar and [so] unhindered the exit [of the water]." In this sentence I would call attention first to the fact that the position of Wealth has shifted. Before, he was the thing that flowed in, was bailed out, tumbled in, threatened to overflow; now he expects to act as water-carrier and bail in like water—what but his unpersonified self, wealth?

Again, we see here even more clearly than before how Lucian becomes the victim of his own metaphor, associated metaphors fading one into the other, and the element of personification tending to still greater confusion.

Again, it seems quite plain that the only part of the traditional imagery of the myth of the Danaids that Lucian has distinctly in mind here is the pouring of water into a broken jar. Nothing is said of the sieve when the jar is spoken of. Indeed, it would be out of place. It is only the leakiness of the receptacle that is in point. Thus Professor Allinson's second argument is answered, and the third is without weight.

The best parallel to the shifting metaphor in this passage—at least, in all Lucian—is in *Timon* 8, which should be carefully compared. In the elevated language of other Greek writers we find the same tendency. Cf. *Soph. O. T.* 22-30, *Ant.* 531-535, *El.* 1290 sq. Another excellent example is to be found in Plato, *Apol.* 30 E-31 (man for horse; gnat(?) for gadfly).

I note in conclusion the modern Greek phrase ξεπατωμένο καλάθι="unordentlicher Mensch" (Jannaris, *Echo*, p. 25).

EMENDATIONS IN LYSIAS.¹

Or. 15, 5 σκέψασθε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐὰν ἱκανὸν γένηται κτέ.

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. VII (1893), p. 19.]

Read εἰ—γέγενηται. The omission of γε- in γέγενηται may have led to the change of εἰ to εἰάν.

Or. 18, 1 ἐνθυμήθητε—οἰοί τινες ὄντες πολῖται καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὧν προσήκοντες κτέ.

Read οἱ προσήκοντες. The καὶ . . . καὶ form a correlation, 'both ourselves and our relations'. Possible corruption from καὶ τῶν δικαίων just below?

Or. 19, 25—καὶ λαβεῖν ἑκαίδεκα μνᾶς ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἂν (ὡς ἄς C, ἄς Scheibe) ἔχω ἀναλίσκειν εἰς τὰ τῆς τριηραρχίας.

—'and to get sixteen minas on it (the *φιάλη*), which (adopting Scheibe's ἄς) he (Demos) *had to spend* (?) on the details of the trierarchy.' Would it not be better to write ἄς *εἶδει ἀναλίσκειν*? Can we parallel exactly ἔχω with the infin. in the sense of 'have to' = 'be obliged to'? Ἐχω ἀναλίσκειν would naturally mean either 'I am able to spend' (= *δύναμαι ἄ.*), or, rarely, 'I know how to spend' (= *ἐπίσταμαι ἄ.*: Soph. *Ant.* 270 sqq., cf. the noteworthy expression in Soph. *O.T.* 119 where there seems to be confusion both of language and of thought). The ease with which ΕΔΕΙ could become ΕΧΟΙ needs no comment.

Or. 23, 14 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερήμερος ἐγένετο, ἐξέτισε τὴν δίκην, καθότι ἔπειθε.

For ἔπειθε read ἐπετέθη, 'was assessed, or imposed.'

Or. 31, 24 Τί οὖν βουλευθέντες ὑμεῖς τοῦτον δοκιμάσατε; Add the necessary ἂν after οὖν; it might easily have been omitted in such a position.

NOTES ON SAPPHO I.¹

The punctuation of this poem does not satisfy me in an important point. To me it is one long sentence from αἶ ποτα in v. 5 to the end. I would place a period after ἔλθ', after ὑπαζεύξαισα a dash, and after ἐθέλουσα (24) a dash, thus marking off the episode. ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν will then get its rights as the conclusion to αἶ ποτα *κάτέρωτα* ἦλθες. ποτα *κάτέρωτα* and καὶ νῦν are clearly correlative. In other words, put a period after ἔλθ' (5), drop vv. 9–24, and the original scheme *saute aux yeux*. (This incidentally proves the construction of *χρύσον*, viz. that it belongs to *δόμον* and cannot be taken with ἄρμ'.) ἄρμ' ὑπαζεύξαισα serves as the stepping-stone to the episode.

¹ [MS. note.]

ON SIMONIDES, 4.¹

The striking expression βωμὸς ὁ τάφος used by Simonides (* 4. [9.] Bergk) concerning τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων seems to have found an echo among the Attic poets. I have noted the following apparent reminiscences:

Aeschylus, *Choephorae* 106.

αἰδουμένη σοὶ βωμὸν ὧς τὺμβον πατρός.

Euripides, *Alcestis* 995 sqq.

μηδὲ νεκρῶν ὧς φθιμένων χῶμα νομιζέσθω
τὺμβος σᾶς ἀλόχου, θεοῖσι δ' ὁμοίως
τιμάσθω, σέβας ἐμπόρων.

(Cf. the context and the Schol. *ad loc.*)

Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 887 sq.

κακὴ κακῶς τᾶρ' ἐξόλοιο κάξολει,
ὅστις γε τολμᾷς σῆμα τὸν βωμὸν καλεῖν.

(Cf. context.)

NOTE ON XENOPHON'S *HELLENICA* II, 3, 16.²

In Xenophon's *Hellenica*, 2. 3, 16, a slight correction is necessary. Thus: εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἰς, ἥττόν τι οἶα <ῆ> ὥσπερ τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὐθύς εἰ. In Lysias 12, 80 we read μηδ' ὦν φασι μέλλειν πράξειν πλείω χάριν αὐτοῖς ἵστε ἢ ὦν ἐποίησαν ὀργίζεσθε. Here ὀργίζεσθε is illogical for ὀργὴν ἵστε (or ἔχετε). It seems probable that Lysias had at first intended to end the sentence with ὀργὴν ἔχετε (ἔχετε because he had already used ἵστε with χάριν); but he decided afterwards to vary the construction still further: hence ὀργίζεσθε. We find something similar (in part) to this in Lysias 16, 11 ὅτι τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσοι περὶ κύβους ἢ πότους ἢ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀκολασίας τυγχάνουσι τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενοι, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὤψεσθέ μοι διαφόρους ὄντας καὶ πλείστα τούτους περὶ ἐμοῦ λογοποιούντας καὶ ψευδομένους. Here, if Lysias had not had τούτους (after πλείστα) already in mind when he wrote the beginning of the sentence, or else had he not carefully revised his written sentence, we should pretty clearly have πάντας τούτους ὤψεσθε.

¹ [From the Classical Review, Vol. VI (1892), pp. 413-414.]

² [From the Classical Review, Vol. XIV (1900), p. 22.]

DE XENOPHONTIS ANABASI.¹

Ei opinioni quam de Xenophontis Anabasis quattuor libris prioribus separatim atque mature editis in Studiis suis Xenophonteis defendit Hartmanus haud paulum ponderis inde accedit quod locum ex ea Anabasis parte curiosa felicitate insignem in Panegyrico suo respexit Isocrates. Nam conferantur inter sese loci qui sunt

Xen. Anab. 2. 4, 4.

Οὐ γάρ ποτε ἐκὼν γε βουλήσεται
(de Persarum rege agitur) ἡμᾶς
ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγγεῖλαι ὥς
ἡμεῖς τοσοῖδε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν Βασιλέα
ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγελά-
σαντες ἀπήλθομεν.

Isocr. Pan. 149.

καὶ τελευτῶντες (de Persis agitur
a Graecis compluries devictis) ὑπ'
(f. ἐπ') αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείοις κα-
ταγέλαστοι γεγόνασιν.

Cum in superioribus iam et ἀνάβασιν illam et κατάβασιν summatim descripserit Isocrates (cf. 145 sqq.), nonne apparet eum verbis modo excerptis ipsa ea Xenophontis verba quae adposui tacite laudare? Ad talium rerum peritos et incorruptos iudices securus provoco.

SCHOLIA IN XENOPHONTIS ANABASIN.²

I, 1. 2. Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε omissis continuo insequentibus καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ . . . ἀθροίζονται, quae verba particulam efficiunt scholii antiqui quod plene sic fere fuit scriptum: <σατράπην αὐτὸν ἐποίησε Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας> καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ Πεδίον ἀθροίζονται. Cuius scholii ex ea parte quae contextui Xenophonteo inserta aetatem tulit elucet in Anab. I, 9. 7, unde supplenda desumpsi, rescribendum esse στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη <ὅς>οις καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ Πεδίον ἀθροίζεσθαι.

Verba quae sunt καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἔχων ὀπλίτας ἀνέβη τριακοσίους (= καὶ τῶν Ἑ. δὲ ὀπλίτας τριακοσίους ἔχων ἀνέβη) ἀρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξεῖαν Παρράσιον narrationis filum interrumpunt. Quominus vero ea Xenophonti abiudicemus obstant duo loci, quorum alter est Anab. I, 3. 18 καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἡ πρᾶξις ἧ παραπλησία οἷαπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐχρήτο τοῖς Ξεῖον

¹ [From *Revue de Philologie* Vol. XXVIII (1904), p. 255.]

² [MS. notes.]

(sic Dobraeus pro tradito ξένοις), ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ κακίους εἶναι τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ συναναβάντων, alter autem est Anab. I, 4. 12 καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰεῖναι ἐὰν μὴ τις (i. e. Cyrus) αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῷ ὅσαπερ τοῖς πρότεροις μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβᾶσι παρὰ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ (codd. τοῦ Κύρου)—καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἰόντος, ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ πατρός (quae verba dum exscribo Cobetum plerumque sequor). At nihilo minus non statim atque ab initio haec a Xenophonte verba accessisse facile crediderim, quippe quae, ut supra indicatum est, narrationem salebrosam reddant; etenim his verbis omissis Tissaphernis ficta amicitia cum odio vero eius arte atque luculenter componitur. Fortasse etiam post eos scriptos locos quos supra laudavi omissam narrationis particulam minus callide neque sic ut suturae non apparerent adsuit Xenophon.

Cf. Hdt. 3. 1 Ἐπὶ τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Ἀμασιν Καμβύσης ὁ Κύρου ἐστρατεύετο ἄγων καὶ ἄλλους, τῶν ἡρχε, καὶ Ἑλλήνων Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας.

LATIN AUTHORS

HORACE

ON THE FIRST ODE OF HORACE.¹

Enough has been written on the first Ode of Horace to make one hesitate before adding to that *ἄχθος ἀπούργης*. It is only a firm conviction, based on much careful study and thought, that the first Ode as printed and pointed in the current editions is but a travesty of Horace that has impelled me to the present writing.

It is the plain duty of an interpreter of this poem to answer two plain questions: (1) What is Horace driving at? (2) How did he say what he had to say? These two questions and their answers are closely bound up together; but I will try to maintain such separation as the case admits of. Let us see then first what Horace is driving at.

The poem may be divided in several ways. For the purpose of our immediate enquiry it may be divided into a personal part consisting of vv. 1-2 and vv. 29-36 and a non-personal part consisting of vv. 3-28. The gist of the non-personal part (vv. 3-28) is plain (or ought to be so) to an attentive reader. What is it? It might be hastily said that it is an elaboration of the theme: *Trahit sua quemque voluptas*. But that is worse than false: it is only a half-truth. The real theme is: *Trahit sua quemque voluptas, cui voluptati aliena semper opponitur voluptas*. We have in these verses three contrasts of pursuits of men, the first in vv. 3-10, the second in vv. 11-18, the third in vv. 19-28. In the first division (vv. 3-10) the favourite pursuits of nations are contrasted, in the two other divisions (vv. 11-18 and 19-28) the pursuits of various classes of men are contrasted. But before going further on this line I must take up the question of the punctuation and interpretation of vv. 3-6.

In vv. 11-18 the reference to the farmer and the reference to the skipper are set off sharply and neatly the one against the other. The *gaudentem* at the head of v. 11 is balanced in form (though not in sense) with the *luctantem* at the head of v. 15. It is signifi-

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. XVI (1902), pp. 398-401.]

cant that it is the latter and not the former term that but formally subserves the balance aimed at. In vv. 19-28 we find the *est qui* at the head of v. 19 answered by the *multos* at the head of v. 23. And this brings us around to the *sunt quos* of v. 3. What answers to it? Surely not the *hunc* and *illum* of vv. 7 and 9: these words merely introduce subdivisions like τὸν μὲν . . . τὸν δὲ. No; *sunt quos* must be answered by something in v. 6, and that something is clearly *terrarum dominos* = Romanos, whether Horace had Virgil's happy phrase in his head or not. All this seems so plain that it fairly makes one rub his eyes to find the latest editors ignoring it. The late Lucian Mueller to be sure puts 'mit dem feinsinnigen J. Rutgers' a; after *nobilis* (v. 5). But—mirabile dictu—although he writes of v. 6 as a whole—what were better written of *terrarum dominos* alone—, 'mit Emphase an den Anfang gesetzt, im Gegensatz zu *sunt quos—iuvat*,' he yet takes *terrarum dominos* as appositive to *deos*. But perhaps the good punctuation may outweigh the bad annotation.

Perhaps I may properly suggest at this point that in vv. 3-5 Horace—primarily, it should seem, for reasons of metre—did not continue the construction of *collegisse* formally but merely informally. What he wrote, however, I venture to think equivalent to *sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum collegisse iuvat metamque ferevidis evitasse rotis palmaque nobiletatos fuisse*.

To return now to our interrupted discussion of the general meaning of the poem, we have in vv. 3-10 the pursuits of nations (Greeks on the one hand, Romans on the other) contrasted. In vv. 11-28 we have contrasted the pursuits of various classes of men; in vv. 11-18 we find the farmer and skipper, in vv. 19-28 the man of ease and leisure and those that follow the strenuous life, whether in war (vv. 23-25) or in the chase (vv. 25-28).

But how is all this, the non-personal part of the poem, connected with the rest, the personal part? It could only be, it should seem, by joining on to the non-personal contrasts a personal one, *i. e.*, inasmuch as the poem is addressed by Horace to Maecenas, a contrast between Maecenas and Horace. But in the traditional text we have nothing of the sort. *Me doctarum hederæ* cet. follows what we have been discussing just as if the matter had all been after all a little sermon on the text 'Trahit sua quemque voluptas'. But that that is not the burden of Horace's song has been clearly set

forth above. Are we not then led to look with more favour upon, nay even to accept, the old conjecture *te* for *me* in v. 29, *detestatum editoribus* though it be? Modern Horatians might, I venture to think, be about worse business than reading, marking, and inwardly digesting Wolf's *Commentatio ad Hor. Carm. I, 1, 29* (*Litterarische Analecten* II, 261-276). Orelli to be sure hints that Wolf may not have been in earnest; but perhaps there was something wrong with Orelli's sense of humour. Wolf was not playing a practical joke; and it is needless to say that what he wrote is well written, whatever you may think of the view he takes. To me at least the *Commentatio* is convincing, although I do not think that Wolf made all he might have of his case. I have advanced above in favour of *te* an argument from the contrasts in the ode that he did not make use of. But he has argued well in favour of the need of a reference to Maecenas at the close of the ode in a more pointed form than that which the traditional text presents. Indeed, does not a very recent editor (as others had done before him) comment on the lack of a *tu* in v. 35? Wolf might indeed have said plainly (what is a fact) that this whole poem is just one long sentence and that the only place where you can put a full stop without spoiling it is at the end of v. 36.

I wish to set down this poem in full in the form that I believe Horace meant it to bear and with a rational scheme of punctuation, but before doing that I would lay before the reader a set of notes lately drawn up in which some of the points discussed above are resumed and other matter pertaining to the division of the ode is included.

(1) The ode deals not with the simple theme *Trahit sua quemque voluptas* but with the complex theme *Trahit sua quemque voluptas, cui voluptati aliena voluptas semper est opposita*.

(2) If the theme were the former of the two just mentioned, such a climax as *me...me...* would be natural; but inasmuch as the theme is the latter, the climax should be itself a contrast of terms.

(3) There is throughout the ode a regular series of contrasts—nation contrasted with nation (Greeks $\times$ Romans), class of men contrasted with class of men (*agricola* $\times$ *mercator*, *desidiosus* $\times$ *strenuus*—the *strenui* being represented by two classes: (a) *milites*, (b) *venatores*), individuals contrasted (*Maecenas* $\times$ *Horace*).

(4) The divisions of the ode should be observed. These are:
 (α) Address to Maecenas (2 vv.) + Greeks and Romans (3+ 5 vv. = 8 vv.) = 10 vv.

(β) Farmer (4 vv.) and skipper (4 vv.) = 8 vv.

(γ) Man of ease (4 vv.) and men of action (6 vv., of which the last two might be dispensed with without detriment to the sense) = 10 vv.

(δ) Maecenas the lofty poet (1½ vv.) and Horace the humble poet (4½ vv.), to which is added the climax and conclusion (2 vv.) = 8 vv.

It will thus be seen that the poem falls into two divisions of 18 vv. each and that these divisions are severally subdivided into a group of 10 vv. and a group of 8 vv. Furthermore, the first group of 10 vv. is balanced with the second group of 8 vv.; contrasted nations are balanced with contrasted individuals; the first two verses (1-2) are balanced with the last two (35-36). Again the first group of 8 vv., which deals with classes of men, is balanced with the second group of 10 vv., which deals with classes of men, these two groups forming the centre and core of the poem. The whole scheme may be represented thus:

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 10 (= 2 + 8) \\ 8 \end{array} \right. \\ \hline \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 10 \\ 8 (= 6 + 2) \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right)$$

When we have grasped this arrangement we may perhaps see why vv. 27-28 were added to vv. 19-26: it was that the scheme of the second part of the poem (10 + 8) might match that of the first part (10 + 8). Is it going too far to think that this poem was built upon and around vv. 11-26? This question I shall take up presently: following is the text.

Maecenas atavis edite regibus,
 o et praesidium et dulce decus meum,
 sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
 collegisse iuvat metaque fervidis
 evitata rotis palmaque nobilis;
 terrarum dominos evehit ad deos
 hunc si mobilium turba Quiritium
 certat tergeminis tollere honoribus,
 illum si proprio condidit horreo

quidquid de Libycis verritur areis:	10
gaudentem patrios findere sarculo	
agros Attalicis condicionibus	
numquam demoveas ut trabe Cypria	
Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare;	
luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum	
mercator metuens otium et oppidi	
laudat rura sui, mox reficit ratis	
quassas indocilis pauperiem pati:	
est qui nec veteris pocula Massici	
nec partem solido demere de die	20
spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto	
stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae;	
multos castra iuvant et lituo tubae	
permixtus sonitus bellaque matribus	
detestata; manet sub Iove frigido	25
venator tenerae coniugis immemor,	
seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus,	
seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas:	
te doctarum hederæ præmia frontium	
dis miscent superis; me gelidum nemus	30
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori	
secernunt populo—si neque tibus	
Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia	
Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton—,	
quod si me lyricis vatibus inseres,	35
sublimis ¹ feriam sidera vertice.	

Returning to the question broached above I may note that Lucian Mueller calls attention in his massive edition of the Odes (I, p. 131) to a similarity (a "merkwürdige Aehnlichkeit" he calls it) between this Ode and the first Satire. That similarity is, I venture to think, to be traced in the Ode in just one place, viz. vv. 15-18, and it consists in the fact that the mercator while on the sea in bad weather wishes himself snug at home in his native village. He is in so far discontented with his lot and laudat diversa sequentis. Now this is in the part of the first Ode about which it has been queried above whether it were not the nucleus of the whole composition, and that fact may afford us some reason for assenting to that view. Vv. 11-18 are very symmetrically arranged, more so than any other part of the poem, and in thought they are most closely connected with vv. 19-26 (to which latter verses it has been suggested above that

¹ [But see Professor Earle's retraction of this reading in next article.]

Horace added vv. 27 and 28 ἐκ δευτέρας φροντίδος). Vv. 3-11 are not so symmetrical but make up the rest of the non-personal part of the poem. In short, whether we do or do not assume, and it is, of course, mere matter of curious speculation, that vv. 11-26 are the original nucleus of the poem, it seems tolerably clear that a good deal of the difficulty in the interpretation of the poem is due to the grafting upon an originally impersonal poem of a personal poem, the personal part consisting clearly of vv. 1-2 and vv. 29-36. That the personal part was grafted on the impersonal and not vice versa seems fairly clear from the fact that vv. 1-2 + vv. 29-36 make up a total of 10 verses, a number not divisible by 4. On the other hand, vv. 3-26 are = 24 verses = 6×4 . Thus working from the point of view of the stanza and not, as above, from the point of view of the divisions of the poem according to sense, we can see a reason why vv. 27-28—verses so eminently Horatian that their authorship ought never to have been called in question—have been added, viz. to round out the number 36. I am willing to risk the charge of inconsistency that my double demonstration (if demonstration it be) lays me open to.

One more point. With *te* for *me* in v. 29 there is a clear contrast between *dis miscent superis* in v. 30 and *secernunt populo* (=profano vulgo) in v. 32. Again, the *quod si* of v. 35 means 'but if' and introduces a clause contrasted with *me gelidum nemus . . . populo* (the *si neque . . . nec . . .* clause is a mere parenthetical proviso=*modo . . . cohibeat . . .*). But if this be so, the last verse must have a different meaning from that usually assigned to it and will refer not to Horace's pride but to his fame and dignity. Perhaps, it may be added, we should in v. 35 write rather *Lyricis Vatribus*.

I have written on a very interesting subject at greater length than I had expected to; but perhaps I may be forgiven for adding in closing a quotation and suggesting a query. In the English-Latin edition of Horace published in London in 1750 ('Begun by David Watson, M.A. of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrew's; Revised, Carried on, and Published by S. Patrick, LL.D.'), we read in the 'Key' to the first Ode:

'After he has shewn, that every Man has a different choice, according to his own peculiar Will and Fancy, in the pursuit of Happiness here, he compliments his Patron in these Words: *Hederae corona ex hedera, quae sunt praemia doctarum frontium, miscent te, meum*

Patronum & Fautorem, *Dis superis*. The Ivy, or Crown of Ivy, the Reward of learned Men, rank you, my Patron and Supporter, among the Gods above. As for himself, he, as all Men of good Sense and Education, keeps himself at a distance from his *Maecenas*, saying, *Gelidum nemus & leves chori nympharum cum satyris secernunt me a populo*. The cool Grove and light Choirs of *Nymphs* with the *Satyrs* separate me from the Vulgar. If the Muses *Euterpe* and *Polyhymnia* will hear my Invocations, and you *Maecenas*, patronize my Compositions, *feriam sidera sublimi vertice*, I shall touch the Stars with the top of my Head, shall reach at the highest pitch of Fame, which will last forever.—That this is Horace's Meaning, is plain from ODE XXX. BOOK III. where he says, &c.

In the corresponding place in the 'Annotations' we read:

'All the editions of *Horace* had *Me* formerly, till of late it was observed by the Right Reverend Dr. *Hare* Bishop of *Chichester*, that if *Horace* wrote *me*, he had no need to wish for a cool Grove, for the Company of the *Nymphs* and *Satyrs*, to be ranked among the Lyrick Poets, and to touch the Stars with the Top of his Head, when he was already among the Gods above, eating and drinking *Ambrosia* and *Nectar*. We must suppose therefore that *Horace* is not speaking of himself, but complimenting his Patron *Maecenas*, in saying that the *Ivy-Crown*, the Reward of learned Men, exalted him among the Gods above. We are not to imagine *Horace* was so ignorant of the way of complimenting his Patron, as to prefer himself to him, upon whom he was in Gratitude passing a compliment.'

This and more to the same purport: the date (see the end of the 'Key' to Ode I) 'this present year of our Blessed Lord 1739'. Let the reader—that 'gentle' and 'indulgent' creature of an earlier day—now open one of the latest modern editions, read text and notes, and ask himself the question: Is interpretation a failure, or are the Horatians played out?

NOTES ON HORACE.¹

Although in C. 1. 2 I do not understand vv. 21-24, unless they are to be read as a question and with *acuisse* understood by *zeugmā* (in the sense of *commisisse*) with *pugnas* (*civis acuisse ferrum* being taken in the sense, demanded by the emphasis on *civis*, of *in civis acutum esse ferrum*), yet I am convinced of several things about the poem. These are that we have the poem practically, at least, as Horace wrote it and without any spurious additions; that it is his

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. XVIII (1904), pp. 391-392.]

earliest attempt in the Sapphic stanza; that he consciously imitated in it Catullus's eleventh poem (in vv. 5-20). The last point, which I have treated very briefly in the *Revue de Philologie* (xxvii. 270)¹, I consider specially important; but I would simply call attention to it again here, adding, for the comfort of such as still believe vv. 5-8 in Horace's poem to be spurious, that *terrui Urbem*, | *terrui Gentes* finds a very curious and noteworthy echo in the *movit Achillem*, | *movit Aiacem* of C. 2. 4. 4 sq.

Some queer things are commonly printed as part of Horace's text. But because Bentley was at fault in grammar is no reason why we should prefer in C. 1. 3. 37 *nil mortalibus arduist* (or *ardui est*) instead of *nil mortalibus arduum est* (or *arduurst*). The sense demanded by the context is not *nil ardui mortales habent*, but *nil adeo arduum est ut id mortales non scandant*. Nor because Bentley rejected de Prado's simple and rather obvious correction *quanta* for *quinta* in C. 1. 13. 16, should others do the same, even though they do not follow Bentley in accepting Porphyry's absurd explanation but write equally edifying matter about the *quinta essentia*.

In C. 1. 12 v. 45 is a troublesome bit, and I am not sure that I understand what a tree that grows *occulto aevo* is. For a time I thought that Professor Bennett's *occulte* for *occulto* was right; but I now see that the traditional *crescit occulto velut arbor aevo* is defended by two other passages in Horace. These are C. 2. 2. 5 *vivet extento Proculeius aevo* (which also proves Heinsius's *arvo* to be wrong) and *Epist.* 1. 1. 80 *multis occulto crescit res faenore* (cf. in the same poem, v. 64, *et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis* with C. 1. 12. 41 sq. *hunc et incomptis Curium capillis* | *utilem bello tulit et Camillum*). I may add here that I now see that C. 1. 15. 31 *sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu* is good proof that I was wrong in printing in this Journal² (xvi. 400) *sublimis feriam sidera vertice*, instead of *sublimi feriam sidera vertice*, in C. 1. 1. 36.

Before leaving C. 1. 12 I wish to make what I believe is a necessary correction in v. 55. Moritz Haupt could not endure *sive subiectos Orientis orae*, and proposed for it *seu superiectos Orientis orae*—a conjecture which received the unmerited honour of a place in Zangemeister's Index. A simple correction of the verse seems to

¹ [See below, p. 209.]

² [See last article.]

me to be the substitution for *orae* of a word for which it could easily have been miswritten, to wit, *aurae*. Cf. Lucan *Phars.* 1. 16, with Francken's notes.

I will add here two notes on *S.* 1. 6. In v. 4 Palmer saw that *imperitarunt*, the least well attested reading of the three *imperitarint*, *imperitarent*, *imperitarunt*, was not impossible Latin. I would go further and affirm that the *tibi* in v. 3 makes *imperitarunt* alone possible; for the sense is *non quod avum habuisti maternum atque paternum olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarunt*. The editors seem to have understood—subconsciously—*tibi* as *tuus*—a very different thing in such a context. Again in vv. 42-44 we read *At hic, si plostra ducenta | concurrantque foro tria funera, magna sonabit | cornua quod vincatque tubas*. Here Heindorf's pointing restores the sense of the sentence as a whole; but neither he nor anyone else, so far as I know, has observed that *tubas* is needless after *cornua* and that nothing is said in the apodosis of the sentence about the noise of the wagons. I would read *cornua quod vincatque rotas*. It is hardly necessary to remark that this reading introduces a very neat chiasmus.

NOTE ON HORACE, CARMINA I 3, 1-8.¹

If the first two stanzas of this ode mean what most editors have thought they meant, two things follow: first, there is no reason why the first stanza should have been the first and the second stanza the second—indeed, it would be a great improvement if the two stanzas were to change places; secondly, Horace wrote arrant nonsense here; for surely no one that gave thought to what he wrote would, in the days before navigation by steam, have begun a poem addressed to a friend about to sail for England on this wise:

O ship that bear'st my friend away,
If thou shalt bring him safe to land,
May western gales speed well thy way,
Until thou reachest that far strand.

But these two stanzas do not mean what most of the editors have thought they meant. Among recent editors of the Odes Professor Bennett alone seems to have rightly explained the connection of thought in this passage. The explanation amounts to this, that the

¹ [From the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXXIV (1903), pp. xxii-xxiii.]

words *finibus atticis reddas incolumem et serves animae dimidium meae* express—not the condition of a benediction, but—the result of a desired action (*regat*). In other words, *sic* is not=*hac lege* or *hac condicione*, but is=*hoc modo*. Mr. Bennett writes: “We should naturally expect these words [*Sic . . . Vergilium*] to be followed by an *ut*-clause (*ut reddas, serves*), instead of which, by a simple anacoluthon, the poet employs jussive [read: precative] subjunctives (*reddas, serves*), explanatory of *sic*,—‘may the goddess guide thee thus [better: may the west wind guide thee thus]; bring Vergil unharmed to the Attic shores, and save the half of my life.’” This explanation of the connection of thought, though it is original with Mr. Bennett, and has also been advocated by Professor Knapp in his teaching, is far from being new. C. W. Nauck’s explanation in his edition (13te Aufl., 1889; 15te Aufl., by Weissenfels, 1899) ought to amount to the same thing, but is not clear either in thought or expression. In the edition of Horace brought out by Anthon in 1830 the same explanation is adopted from the edition of Hunter of 1797. Here, as in many another place, the older students of Horace seem to have been wiser than the ἐπίγονοι. Anthon himself backslid in his smaller edition.

But I believe we can and should go farther than Hunter and Mr. Bennett have gone and that we should restore the *ut* after *Vergilium*. I base this opinion not so much on the surprising parataxis as on the position of the word *precor*. Read the two stanzas as Mr. Bennett would have us do, and the *precor* falls heavily with *reddas* and *serves*, the sentence still, by reason of the parataxis, breaking pretty sharply in the middle. But the *precor* should surely be brought into connection with the *sic*-clause. Insert *ut* after *Vergilium*, read with proper emphasis and, so far as possible, in one breath, and *precor* knits up, as it were, the two strands of the sentence, and its force is clearly felt to pervade the whole, the *et serves animae dimidium meae* falling in as a sort of graceful and emphatic afterthought.

This restoration, as I am convinced that it is, of Horace’s text had been suggested before; in Keller’s *Epilegomena zu Horaz* Doederlein is sneered at for advocating the insertion of *ut*. I can at least rejoice, like Odysseus, οὐνεχ’ ἐταῖρον ἐνῆέα λείψσω ἐν ἀγῶνι.

HORATIANUM.¹

In eo carmine quod inter Horatiana est I. vi. menda haud ita sunt pauca. Nam primum quidem nemo umquam nos docebit qualis sit illa avis quae versu secundo commemoratur. In eodem aviario iam dudum includi oportebat Maeonii carminis ales atque ξουθὸς ille ἱππαλεκτρών. Vix fieri potest quin manum Horatii feliciter restituerit J. Jones (v. Muellerum in loc.) qui *aemulo* pro *alite* rescribendum coniecit. Neque recte faciunt hodierni editores, dum spreto Mureti et Bentleii acumine perversum illud *quam rem cumque* retinent. Apertissimum debebat esse Horatium scripsisse *qua rem cumque ferox navibus aut equis*, i. e. quocumque modo, sive navibus sive equis. Neque vero ullo modo Horatio vindicari possunt inepti hoc quidem certe loco versus qui sunt 13-16. Porro equidem vix dubito quin cum Bentleio versu 18 *strictis* scribendum sit, etiam si eius coniecturae auctor perperam verba quae sunt *in iuvenes* cum *strictis* arte iuncta voluit, cum hyperbati ratio eum docere debuerit ea verba cum *acrium* esse coniungenda, ut intellegerentur virgines unguibus, non gladiis, dstrictis in iuvenes acriter pugnantes.

At ista satis nota sunt omnibus omnia, quamvis spreta sint atque neglecta; nunc ad novum, quod sciam, repertum venio. Extrema carminis verba correctoris qui sibi videbatur—nisi forte commentator is erat—manum experta conicio. Nam attende, quaeso, quid traditum sit: *vacui sive quid urimur, non praeter solitum leves*, i. e. sive vacui sumus sive quid urimur, non praeter solitum leves. Intenta τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ὀμμάτων acie haec legenti nonne claudicat tibi sententia in illo *leves*? Repone modo *graves*, continuo recte se habebunt omnia.

DE CARMINE QUOD EST INTER HORATIANA IV, viii.²

Huius carminis versum 17um, *non incendia Karthaginis impiae*, damnavit Bentleyus idque firmissimis fretus argumentis. Cum autem idem vir doctissimus hoc loco agnoscat “versum Monachalis plane genii et coloris”, in versu insequente, *eius qui domita nomen ab Africa*, non animadvertit—quod mireris—molestissimum illud *eius* quod in C. 3. 11. 18 “male oderat”. Videtur Bentleyus totus in versu 17 damnando occupatus proximi versus peccatum neglexisse. Dam-nato versu 18 deleas oportet verba quae sunt *non celeres fugae* (15)

¹ [From *Revue de Philologie*, Vol. XXIX (1905), p. 37.]

² [From *Revue de Philologie*, Vol. XXIX (1905), pp. 306-309.]

. . . *lucratus rediit* (19), id quod fecit Lachmannus. At etiam nunc numerus versuum carmine comprehensorum legem violat Meinekianam, neque aequè verisimile ac facile factu est ut eiectis praeterea duobus versibus desideratum carminis ambitum assequaris. Quae cum ita sint, haud ita levis subire debet suspicio totum hoc carmen subditiuum esse, quam suspicionem ad confirmandam atque corroborandam aliquid certe adferunt alia quaedam falsitatis indicia quae statim proferam. Ac primum quidem locutiones aliquas leviter praestringam. Omittendum fortasse erat tamquam levius atque minoris momenti satis ineptum illud *commodus* quod in versu primo occurrit, neque nimis urgenda verba *pretium dicere muneri* (var. lect. *muneris*) in versu 12, quae tamen equidem confitear satis absurde videri dicta; at nonne admirationem tibi movent in eis quae locum summo iure suspectum medium amplectuntur versus 20-22? An diligentis et intelligentis est scriptoris, postquam de incisis marmoribus scripserit per quae spiritus et vita redeat bonis ducibus (14 sq.), statim adicere *neque, si chartae sileant quod bene feceris, mercedem tuleris?* Atque verba *per quae . . . ducibus* et ipsa ineptam quandam magniloquentiam mirifice redolent. Aequè tumidum et ridiculum est illud *in finis* in versu 31. Neque haec Horatium sapiunt neque mihi quidem in versu 31 *clarum Tyndaridae sidus*. Nonne hic imitationem sentis notissimi illius *fratres Helenae lucida sidera* C. 1. 3. 2? Atque hic erant fortasse componendi ceteri loci ubi huius carminis scriptor alios Horati versus asclepiadeos minores imitando videtur expressisse. Comparanda igitur sunt haec: *praemia fortium* vsu 3 cum *praemia frontium* C. 1. 1. 29, *hic saxo liquidis ille coloribus* vsu 7 cum *perfusis liquidis urguet odoribus* C. 1. 5. 2, *ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Aeacum* vsu 25 cum *luctantem Icaris fluctibus Africum* C. 1. 1. 15, *quassas eripiunt aequoribus rates* vsu 32 cum *mox reficit rates quassas* C. 1. 1. 17, *ornatus viridi tempora pampino* vsu 29 cum *cingentem viridi tempora pampino* C. 3. 25. 20. Multo minus aperta est imitatio in versibus 2 (cf. C. 3. 30. 1), 8 (cf. C. 1. 3. 16), 11 (cf. C. 3. 16. 15), 24 (cf. C. 3. 30. 15), ubi ea intra fines unius aut summum duorum vocabulorum subsistit. Non negandum est sane in genuinis Horatii asclepiadeis hic illic occurrere quae declarent ut ceteros poetas ita Horatium aliquando sui ipsius imitatore fuisse, sed calathum flosculorum huius quidem carminis scriptor nobis offert. Porro non debet abesse suspicio quin huius carminis auctor Horatianum suis

versibus inducere colorem studuerit infertis locutionibus quales sunt *hic* . . . *ille* vsu 6 (cf. C. I. I. 7 et 9) et *nunc* . . . *nunc* vsu 8 (cf. C. I. I. 21 sq.). Sed maioris est momenti consonantiarum ratio his in versiculis obvia. Nam, cum in aliis ex eis Horatiana sit consonantia, in aliis tamen plane discrepat ab eius usu. Horatiana ratio apparet in his: *Censorine, meIS aera sodalIBVS* vsu 2 et *hic saxo liquidIS ille colorIBVS* vsu 7 (cf. C. I. I. 1, I. I. 8, I. I. 12, I. I. 27 (quater in uno carmine), I. 5. 2, 4. I. 10, 4. I. 32, 4. 5. 15), *non incisa notIS marmora publicIS* vsu 13 (cf. inter alia exempla C. I. I. 10), *eius qui domitA nomen ab AfricA* vsu 18 (cf. inter alia C. 3. 24. 58); consonantiarum vero quales sunt *gaudes carminIBVS: carmina possumVS* vsu 11 et *vatum divitIBVS consecrat insulIS* vsu 27 frustra apud Horatium exempla quaesieris, qui nomen in -IBVS desinens semper in posteriore sede collocat (cf. praeter exempla supra citata C. I. 14. 14. *nil pictis timidVS navita puppIBVS*).

Consonantia qualem habemus in *Maecenas atavIS edite regIBVS* e pentametro elegiaco in asclepiadeum translata videtur. Catullus, si non instituit hanc consonantiam, at certe adhibuit in carminibus 65 et 66: vide sis 65. 2, 66. 4, 66. 58, 66. 60, 66. 80, 66. 92. Tibulliana exempla sunt haec: I. I. 38, I. 2. 54, I. 2. 84, I. 7. 32, I. 7. 36, I. 8. 6, I. 8. 24, I. 9. 4, 2. I. 18, 2. I. 36, 2. I. 60, 2. 3. 40, 2. 5. 16, 2. 5. 40, 2. 5. 80, 3. 4. 56, 3. 6. 8. Propertius in primo libro hanc consonantiam paene ad nauseam usque adhibuit: exempla sunt haec:¹ I. I. 2, I. I. 4, I. 2. 4, I. 2. 18, I. 3. 2, I. 3. 8, I. 3. 22, I. 3. 32, I. 3. 36, I. 3. 38, I. 5. 24, I. 6. 16, I. 7. 4, I. 8. 20, I. 11. 2, I. 11. 4, I. 11. 8, I. 13. 16, I. 14. 6, I. 14. 12, I. 14. 22, I. 15. 36, I. 15. 40, I. 16. 4, I. 16. 6, I. 16. 10, I. 16. 18, I. 16. 26, I. 16. 42, I. 16. 44, I. 16. 46, I. 18. 22, I. 18. 24, I. 20. 36, I. 20. 38, I. 20. 42, I. 21. 2, I. 22. 4, I. 22. 10. In secundo libro nullum exemplum, in tertio autem et quarto haec: 3. 5. 32, 3. 8. 14, 3. 8. 38, 3. 20. 20, 3. 27. 18, 3. 32. 64, 3. 32. 68, 3. 32. 70, 4. 2. 28. Cuiusvis est decrescentem apud Propertium exemplorum frequentiam interpretari quid significet et unde venerit. Inversae consonantiae primum offendimus exemplum Propert. 5. 2. 42, *hortorum in manIBVS dona probata meIS*. Sed ne in eos quidem pentametros qui in bisyllabum vocabulum desinere solent nisi lentissimo gradu inversa ea consonantia sese insinuavit; nam in Heroidibus Ovidianis unum hoc inveni exemplum: Her.

¹ Editionem sequor Muellerianam.

10. 100 *impia funeribus*, *Cecropi terra, tuus*.¹ Apud Martialem autem inter Troem et Tyrium nullum discrimen; nam usque ad finem noni Epigrammaton libri² haec habemus exempla consonantiae rectae Spect. 18. 4, Epigr. 2. 43. 8 (versus in *tribus* desinens), 2. 46. 4, 2. 90. 6, 4. 57. 10, 5. 64. 4, 5. 81. 2, 9. 47. 2, 9. 59. 20; consonantiae inversae Epigr. 1. 13. 2, 2. 62. 2, 4. 10. 6, 6. 43. 4, 7. 65. 2 (*conterit una tribus, Gargaliane, foris*), 8. 3. 14, 9. 41. 8, 9. 48. 4, 9. 65. 4.

Haud prorsus dissimile est quod in asclepiadeo evenit; nam, cum apud Horatium in versibus indubitatis inversae consonantiae exemplum appareat nullum, in fabulis tamen Senecae adscriptis exempla habemus haec: Herc. F. 540, Troad. 372, Phaedr. 767. Rectae consonantiae exempla Senecana sunt haec: Herc. F. 524, 553, Med. 58, 59, 64, 106, Phaedr. 812, Thyest. 143, 157, Herc. Oet. 147, 161. Nunc ad nostrum poemation paulisper redeamus.

Hoc igitur in carmine usque ad nauseam insequens versus eodem sono atque praecedens clauditur: cf. vss. 1 et 2 (*-us*), 3-5 (*-um*), 8 et 9 (*-um*), 13 et 14 (*-is*), 15-17 (*-ae*), 25 et 26 (*-um*). Istud quidem Horatianum esse vix fieri potest ut equidem credam.

Habes, lector, quibus paene coactus totum hoc carmen ab Horatio alienum esse censeo. At dixerit quispiam: "Quorsum haec omnia? Nonne *κύνα δέιρεις δεδαρμένην* et quidem *πάλαι δ'εδαρμένην*? An tu nescis hoc carmen et Lehrsium et post eum Gowium in Corpore Postgatiano ab Horatio abiudicasse?" Minime inscio obici ista fingo; sed haud instrenui exorti sunt huius poematii inter hodiernos viros doctos vindices. Vahlenus in prolegomenis ad alteram suam Ennianae poesis reliquiarum editionem bis carmen nostrum tamquam ne minima quidem suspicione laborans laudat; et Bellingius, cuius ab ovilibus tener nuper agnus Kiesslingii aram imbuat—de libello loquor *Studien über die Liederbücher des Horatius* inscripto—totam appendiculam (pp. 160-167) huius carminis defensionis adtribuit. Sed huius argumenta incorrupto praeditis iudicio lectoribus satis secure possum committere. Neque multo melius sese habent quae in postumae Muellieri editionis adnotationibus sunt. Illi viro hoc poema vel pulcherrimum videbatur atque Horatio maxima quidem ex parte dignum. Contrariam opinionem satis iam, nisi fallor, defendere sum conatus.

¹ Pentameter in bisyllabum vocabulum desinens et ipse antiquiorem consonantiam admittere potest, si *tribus* vocabulo terminatur, velut Ov. Her. 3.88 et 10.118.

² Cuncta apud Martialem obvia exempla recensere vix opus.

AD HORATII SERMONEM I, 1. 15 SQQ.¹

si quis deus "En ego" dicat
 "iam faciam quod voltis: eris tu, qui modo miles,
 mercator; tu, consultus modo, rusticus: hinc vos,
 vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus. Eia,
 quid statis?" nolint; atqui licet esse beatis —
 quid causae est merito quin illis Iuppiter ambas
 iratus buccas inflet neque se fore posthac
 tam facilem dicat, votis ut praebeat aurem?

His in versibus suspicionem mihi movet praecipue **nimis abruptum** illud *atqui licet esse beatis*, quae verba neque cum superioribus neque cum insequentibus satis arte cohaerent. Ne te morer, lector, audi—ut Horatii ipsius scrinia compilem—quo rem deducam: quod modo *atqui* fuit adiecta s littera huc illuc duas in partes divisum discedat, ut mutata distinguendi ratione sic constitutus locus evadat:

nolint; at, quis (=quibus) licet esse beatis,
 quid causae est merito quin illis Iuppiter ambas cet.

Conferendum est carminis initium, ubi similem in modum sibi invicem respondent *qui* et *ille* pronomina.

DE HORATII SERMONE I, 1.²

Huius carminis in principio quaerit Horatius undenam fiat ut sua cuique sors prae aliena sordeat; in fine inde id fieri respondet, quia omnes homines avari sint. Ea certe est summa responsionis. Sed haud ita bene Horatius argumentatur. Nam postquam quaestionem proposuit hunc in modum: *Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo quam sibi sortem seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit illa contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentis?*, non statim respondere pergit, sed quod, dum Maecenatem interrogat, assumebat omnes ipsorum suam quemque sortem contemnere ac vituperare, alienam laudibus extollere, id exemplis probare conatur. Qua re, ut putat, conclusa atque confecta ioculariter suam exponit opinionem, haud sincere homines alienae suam quemque condicionem ac studium posthabere. Tum amoto, ut ait, ludo et graviore assumpta persona rei propositae acrius instare videtur. Sed videtur tantum; nam ita immutatam resumit quaestionem, ut, cum antea interrogarit, cur suam

¹ [From *Mnemosyne*, Vol. XXX (1902), p. 347.]

² [From *Revue de Philologie*, Vol. XXVII (1903), pp. 233-235.]

quisque sortem vituperaret, laudaret diversa sequentis, nunc varia variis rebus studentium hominum genera reprehendat, non quod illud faciant, sed quia, cum hac mente laborem sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant, aiant, tamen finem quaerendi facere eos velle negat. Quam contra falsam cupidinem multos per versus quam qui maxime strenue pugnat, dum auream illam mediocritatem cum alibi tum in fine praecipue argumentationis collaudat. Denique ad propositam ab initio quaestionem redire videtur; nam 'Illuc' ait 'unde abii redeo'. Hic, etsi a re proposita toto fere sermone aliquantum mentem obliquavit poeta, tamen paene iustum tandem responsum expectare poteramus. Sed falsos nos habet corrupta codicum scriptura, quam emendare nunc experiar. Ac primo confitebor mihi eam scripturam quae in vetustissimo codicum Blandiniorum fuisse dicitur, scilicet *qui nemo ut avarus*, a vero videri propius abesse. Hoc autem fundamento nixus pristinam versuum 108 sqq. scripturam sic revocare conabor ut eos hunc in modum rescribam:

Illuc unde abii redeo. Quia nemo, ut avarus,
 se probat ac potius laudat diversa sequentis
 quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber
 tabescit neque se maiori pauperiorum
 turbae comparat, hunc atque hunc superare laborat—
 sic festinanti semper locupletior obstat—,
 ut, cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,
 instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum
 praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem;
 inde fit ut raro qui se vixisse beatum
 dicat et exacto contentus tempore vita
 cedat uti conviva satur reperire queamus.

Sic constituto famoso hoc loco statim legenti apparebit *Quia* et *inde* particulas inter sese respondere. Quod vero in versibus 109-111 qui fuerant indicativi in modum coniunctivum migrarunt, eius rei fons et origo fuit *Quia* particula in *qui* detorta, quae detorsio inde profluxit quod librarius aliquis initium carminis est alieno tempore recordatus. Ad versum autem 113^m quod attinet, rectissime is se habet, modo tanquam *διὰ μέσων*, ut aiunt Graeculi, eum interiectum accipiamus, quasi fuerit *sic* (=adeo) *semper obstat* <ei> *festinanti* (=dum festinat) *locupletior* <alter>. Atque ne nunc quidem prorsus iustum ad interrogationem suam responsum reddit Horatius,

qui sic respondeat quasi ab initio quaesierit, qui fiat ut vix quisquam sua ipsius sorte contentus neque alienam cupiens vita discedat. At hoc fortasse est cavillari.

Restat ut alios quosdam locos huius sermonis examinem. Et primum quidem quartus versus, nisi fallor, duobus mendis laborat. Illud enim '*O fortunati mercatores!*' compellantis est, cum exclamantis esse oporteret; ergo reponendum erat—id quod mihi indicavit e collegis meis quidam, vir linguae latinae quam peritisimus—'*O fortunatos mercatores!*'. Atque illud *annis* minime verum esse potest; nam grandem natu fictum illum ab Horatio militem non esse, id a *iam* particula quae in insequenti versu est elucet; ea enim vocula significat eum mature labore confectum esse. Reponendum igitur cum Bouhierio *armis*. Ad versum 8^{um} quod attinet, cum Bentleio facio *aut* particulam geminam et postulante et subtili argumento defendente. In versu autem 12^o recta quae dicitur oratio erat fortasse indicanda hunc in modum: '*solos felices viventis*' *clamat 'in urbe!'*. De versu 19ⁱ emendatione iam in *Mnemosyne*¹ 30 (n. s.), 347, sententiam meam exposui. Versus 23-27 sic distinctos velim: Praeterea, ne sic ut qui iocularia ridens | percurram—quamquam ridentem dicere verum | quid vetat? ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi | doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima; | sed tamen—amoto quaeramus seria ludo, quasi verba quae sunt *quamquam* . . . *sed tamen* ἐκ δυνείας φροντίδος poeta adicerit. De versu 29ⁱ emendandi ratione cum Luciano Muellero sentio. Denique de versu 40^o aperte necesse confiteamur *ne* particulam prorsus abundare. Aut Horatium fefellit negationis ratio aut—quod magis ad probandum inclino—pro *dum ne* erat *dummodo* rescribendum. Sed, ne ipse in eandem suspensionem quam evitare Horatius studuit incurram, verbum non amplius addam.

DE HORATII SATIRA PRIMA.²

Βροτοῖσιν οὐδέν ἐστ' ἀπώμοτον. ψεύδει γὰρ ἡ ἐπίνοια τὴν γνώμην.
Putaram omnino me Horatii satiram primam iam absolvisse, sed ecce iterum eo recurro. Neque tamen quidquam eorum quae eo de carmine vel potius sermone hoc in diario nuper scripsi³ mutatum aut

¹ [See above, p. 191.]

² [From *Revue de Philologie*, Vol. XXIX (1905), pp. 35-36.]

³ [See last article.]

damnatum velim praeter unum alterumve ex minutioribus; de addendo potius quam de subtrahendo nunc agitur. Ac primum quidem in versu 27 addendam esse censeo *ut* particulam, qua inserta hunc in modum decurrent versus 23-27:

Praeterea, ne sic ut qui iocularia ridens
percurram—quamquam ridentem dicere verum
quid vetat, ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima?—
sed tamen, amoto <ut> quaeramus seria ludo,

Sic enim rescripto loco iterant—immutata modo aliquantillum ratione loquendi—illud *ne sic* . . . *percurram* verba quae sunt *amoto* . . . ludo. Si quis alius sic corrigere sit conatus, nescio; quam vero difficile sit novi quidquam Horatio emendando excogitare experientia doctus bene intellego. Huius ipsius satirae in versu 19 Bowyer quidam Anglus, id quod a Wolfio (v. eius *Kleine Schriften* ed. Bernhardt p. 1004) didici, eandem in coniecturam inciderat quam ego longo post tempore feci. Neque lugeo equidem gloriolam mihi praeceptam; gaudeo magis plus unius testimonio veritatem stabiliri.—Sed eiusmodi de reculis ne longior sim, ad versum 71 animum advertamus, quippe qui versus levi correctione indigere videatur. An non rectius se habeat oratio s littera geminata hunc in modum:

congestis undique saccis

indormis inhians, <s>et tamquam parcere sacris?

Atque illa fortasse adicienda est observatiuncula, non *indormis* sed *inhians* intentiore et mente et voce efferendum esse, quippe quod in figurata dictione cum signo rem significatam coniungat. Pro *indormis* autem melius Horatius scripsisset, sensum certe si spectes, *invigilas*, quod ideo videtur respuisse quia versu 76 *vigilare* ponebat (cf. S. 2. 3. 108-113), nisi forte *indormis* ita accipiendum est ut idem valeat quod *obtorpescis*.

Versus 80-91 multo melius mea quidem opinione se habebunt, si expulso versu 87 quippe sententiam quasi diluente conturbatum, ut videtur, ordinem sic redintegraris:

84 Non uxor salvum te volt, non filius; omnes
85 vicini oderunt, noti, pueri atque puellae.
86 Miraris, cum tu argento post omnia ponas;
88 an, si cognatos, nullo natura labore
89 quos tibi dat, retinere velis servareque amicos,

- 90 infelix operam perdas, ut si quis asellum
91 in Campo doceat parentem currere frenis?
80 At, si condoluit temptatum frigore corpus
81 aut alius casus lecto te adfixit, habes qui
82 adsideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget ut te
83 suscitet ac natis reddat carisque propinquis.

—Finem iam faciam, postquam tria addidero: primum in versu 12 melius nunc mihi videri se habere obliquam quam rectam orationem, ut recta oratione utatur prius tantum hominum par, quod versibus 4-8 describitur; deinde in versu 35 Halbertsmam eumque solum, quod sciam, verum vidisse, qui in postumis suis *Adversariis Criticis* (Leidæ 1896, p. 153) *haud incauta ac non ignara futuri* rescriptum vult; tum versum 113 melius fortasse se habiturum fuisse, si non ubi nunc est sed post versum 116 collocatus esset.

VARIOUS AUTHORS.

AD CAESARIS COMM. DE BELLO GALLICO INITIUM.¹

Relegenti mihi saepe numero initium Caesaris de bello gallico commentariorum semper minus recte se habere videtur enuntiationum ordinatio. Neque fieri potest ut credam tanto praedito acumine scriptori tam confusam Galliae atque eius incolarum finiumque descriptionem excidere potuisse. Sed e doctorum in hunc locum coniecturis quae apud Meuselum *Coni. Caes.* in unum collectae prostant nulla mihi arridet, quae quidem ordinationem verborum spectet. Quae cum ita sint, hanc tamquam veram atque ab ipsis scriptoris calamo profectam sententiarum verborumque consecutionem proponere ausim:

Gallia est omnis divisa in partis tris quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, moribus inter se differunt. Eorum una pars quam Gallos obtinere dictum est initium capit a flumine Rhodano; continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum; attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum; vergit ad septentriones; Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur; pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni; spectant inter septentriones (septentrionem Codd.) et orientem solem: Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montis et eam partem Oceani quae est ad Hispaniam pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae propterea quod continenter bellum gerunt. Qua de causa Helvetii quoque . . . bellum gerunt. Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus cet.

Confusam loci ordinationem inde ortam esse coniecerim quod in archetypo casu inversum sit folium quod rectum verba quae sunt *Eorum una pars inter occasum solis et septentriones*, versum autem verba quae sunt *Gallos ab Aquitanis in eorum finibus bellum gerunt* continebat.

¹ [From *Revue de Philologie*, Vol. XXVII (1903), p. 52.]

CRITICAL NOTES ON CICERO *DE ORATORE* I.¹

1, 1 si infinitus forensium rerum labor et ambitionis occupatio decursu honorum, etiam aetatis flexu constitisset . . .

Those that have felt a difficulty in the bare *etiam* here seem to me to be in the right. The turn of phrase employed by Q. Cicero *de petit.* 2, 9 cum semper natura, tum etiam aetate iam quietum, may help us to the restoration of the passage in the *de orat.* to: *etiam* <iam> flexu constitisset.

3, 11 vere mihi hoc videor esse dicturus: ex omnibus eis qui in harum artium liberalissimis studiis sint doctrinisque versati minimam copiam poetarum egregiorum exstitisse; atque in hoc ipso numero, in quo perraro exoritur aliquis excellens, si diligenter et ex nostrorum et ex Graecorum copia comparare voles, multo tamen pauciores oratores quam poetae boni reperientur.

Cicero is dealing with the question: Why have there been more distinguished men in every other field than in oratory? In order to the proper treatment of this question he first shews that there have been more distinguished men in every other field. In the artes maximae, represented by the general and the statesman, the case is beyond cavil (2, 7-8). But the comparison of the orator with the general or with the statesman may be objected to as unfair, on the ground that the orator should be classed rather with scientists and men of letters. The comparison is therefore restricted to the latter sorts (2, 8). It is hard to count the eminent philosophers (2, 9). The mathematicians of renown are not few (3, 10): the same holds good of those that have devoted themselves to musica and of the grammatici (3, 10). Then follows the sentence quoted above. This contains the climax and the conclusion of the comparison. The gist of it is this: Among those that deal with reconditae artes and litterae (cf. 2, 8) the poets constitute the class that has the smallest number of distinguished representatives: and there are fewer good orators than good poets. But can it be for a moment supposed that Cicero would conclude so clear and simple an argument as this in the way which our MSS. tell us he has? Let us look at the second half of the sentence quoted, beginning with atque in. 'And in this very number, in which very rarely does anyone rise to eminence,

¹ [From the Classical Review, Vol. XI (1897), pp. 22-26.]

if you will make a careful comparison, including both Greeks and Romans, you will yet find much fewer good orators than good poets.' The words in hoc ipso numero (with the appended relative clause, of which more anon) are obviously=in hac minima copia poetarum egregiorum, and the words multo—reperientur therefore include the orators in the special class with which they are contrasted and compared. Dr. Sorof represents those that would accept the text as it stands and assumes an anacoluthon. The words in hoc ipso numero are=in poetarum ipsorum numero (a sense which a careful reading of the passage ought to show that they cannot bear), and multo—reperientur is "ein durch Zwischensatz veranlassstes Anakoluth, statt: *multo tamen plures egregii reperientur, quam sunt oratores boni*, welches um so erklärlicher ist, als dem Cic. fortwährend die *paucitas oratorum egregiorum* vorschwebt." But even if we disregard the misinterpretation of in hoc ipso numero, can we suppose that Cicero would draw his conclusions so carelessly? The conjecture of Stangl (see Sorof's *Kritischer Anhang*) that the words et oratorum are to be inserted between poetarum and egregiorum in the former half of the sentence merely appears to bring relief. The logical flaw of including one of the two classes compared in the other is still present, though placed one step farther back. (See Sorof's *Krit. Anhang*.) The same remark applies to O. Hense's et oratorum for egregiorum (see Piderit-Harnecker, *Krit. Anhang*)—the conjecture to which Stangl's suggestion is due. We come now to a consideration of the possibility and probability of emendation in the latter part of the sentence, beginning with the words atque in. Kayser in the Tauchnitz text-edition brackets *in* before hoc ipso numero, as well as the words *quam poetae*. Hoc ipso numero will then depend upon the comparative pauciores, and we shall construe: 'And than this very number (*i.e.* the minima copia poetarum egregiorum), in which very rarely does any one rise to eminence, if you will make a careful comparison &c., you will yet find much fewer good orators.' This treatment of the text, however, assumes for the passage as originally written a form that would not of itself have been likely to have produced the present form. The difficulty lies in explaining the *in* before hoc ipso numero. How did this *fons et origo malorum* come into the text? Let us glance at a clause that has thus far passed unchallenged

(in its entirety: Rubner [see Piderit-Harnecker, *Krit. Anhang*] has proposed the improbable cum—exoritur), in quo perraro exoritur aliquis excellens. If hoc ipso numero is, as it obviously is, a mere resumption of minimam copiam poetarum egregiorum, then in quo—excellens is an utterly needless—not to say awkward and absurd—addition. It is an addition such as would be made to an obscure or ambiguous antecedent—and such too as might be made in the margin. Hoc ipso numero is too clear to need such an addition; not so in hoc ipso numero: therefore in quo—excellens presupposes in hoc ipso numero, and it is not enough to bracket *in* and *quam poetarum*. Thus it appears probable that in quo—excellens is a gloss, but a gloss that presupposes in before hoc ipso numero. Let us glance now for a moment at atque. It has been proposed to change this atque into the adversative atqui. (By Piderit, who furthermore understood in hoc ipso numero to refer to the preceding ex omnibus, qui in harum — sc. mediocrium—artium studiis liberalissimis sunt doctrinisque versati. But, as Adler said, it is harsh not to refer in hoc numero to the immediately preceding minimam copiam poetarum egregiorum.) To this Sorof (*Krit. Anhang*) objects that the necessity of such change is obviated by the following tamen (after multo). However, this objection loses its force from the fact that the sentence is too fully under weigh before we are put right by the adversative. Then too we think of the familiar collocation at tamen. An adversative at the head of this sentence—an at or an atqui—is just what we should expect; but this of itself gives us no help in our critical problem—in our trouble over in hoc—numero. A. Fleckeisen in his *Kritische Miscellen* (Dresden, 1864, Program des Vitzthumschen Gymnasiums,—referred to by Dr. Sorof) deals (pp. 23-28) with a number of passages in which atque has ousted atqui. The passages which he discusses have in common the peculiarity that the atque that requires change to atqui is followed by a word beginning with *i*. Fleckeisen believes that this is not mere chance but that we are to see in this corruption a trace of the archaic spelling *ei* for *i*. Thus *e.g.* ATQVEIILLE or ATQVEILLE would readily pass, under the hand of a scribe, into atque ille. But the admission of the truth or plausibility of this theory brings us no further forward in the present case, unless we suppose that ATQVEIHOC might have been misread as ATQVEIHOC

(atque in hoc). (For the spellings atquei and quein in the MSS. of Cicero see Georges, *Lexicon der Lat. Wortformen s.vv.* atqui and quin.) A more probable assumption than this we can base on the occurrence in two passages in Cicero (*pro domo* 12 atquin utrumque fuisse perspicuum est and *Philip.* 10, 17 atquin huius animum erga M. Brutum studiumque vidistis) of the form atquin. The fact that in the latter of these two passages atquin is followed by a form of hic taken in combination with Fleckeisen's suggestion about the archaic spelling, gives colour to the conjecture that in our passage of the *de oratore* atque in should be written as one word—atquein. We shall then read:

atquein hoc ipso numero [in quo perraro exoritur aliquis excellens], si diligenter et ex nostrorum et ex Graecorum copia comparare voles, multo tamen pauciores oratores [quam poetae] boni reperientur . . .

Thus Kayser's bracketing of quam poetae is to be accepted, in is retained, and in—excellens is rejected, the difficulty having arisen entirely from a wrong division of ATQVEIN.

3, 12. Should we read here: dicendi autem omnis ratio in medio posita <ita> communi cet., ut—excellat?

4, 13. The traditional text with four aut's is (notwithstanding Professor Wilkins's explanation) very harsh. Reading along naturally we understand: aut pluris ceteris (artibus) inservire aut maiore delectatione (homines eis inservire) aut spe uberiore (eis inservire) aut praemiis ad perdiscendum amplioribus—Here we expect to understand eis inservire (=commotus—or the like—eis inservire) but are confronted with commoveri instead. Wex's ac for the last aut is helpful and not improbably—or impossibly—right, unless Cicero wrote very carelessly here; but it does not help us out of all the difficulty: we have still one aut too many. Should we not read et after inservire? If we do not, can we not fairly say that we are justified in expecting from Cicero's pen: aut spe uberiore ac praemiis ad perdiscendum amplioribus commotos?

7, 26. hi primo die de temporibus deque universa republica, quam ob causam venerant, multum inter se usque ad extremum tempus diei conlocuti sunt, quo quidem sermone multa divinitus

a tribus ille consularibus Cotta deplorata et commemorata narrabat, ut nihil incidisset postea civitati mali, quod non impendere illi tanto ante vidissent. . .

The *ut*-clause here seems to lack a distinct indication of its exact point of contact with the preceding clause. *Divinitus* is an emphatic word; to it, therefore, one naturally seeks to link the *ut*-clause. Even then, however, we miss a particle anticipatory of *ut*—what Fischer would call its ‘syndetic antecedent’. This may, I think, be readily supplied before *divinitus*. Read multa <ita> *divinitus* &c. It is obvious that *ita* could be easily lost after *-ita*.

10, 42. *agerent enim tecum lege primum Pythagorei omnes atque Democritii, ceterique sua in iure physici vindicarent, . . . ; urgerent praeterea philosophorum greges iam ab illo fonte et capite Socrate nihil te de bonis rebus in vita, nihil de malis, nihil de animi per-motionibus, nihil de hominum moribus, nihil de ratione vitae didicisse, nihil omnino quaesisse, nihil scire convincerent; cet.*

The last word in the quotation does not stand in close connection with anything that precedes. It is not linked to *urgerent* by any copulative and stands at the very end of its clause. We should certainly expect here not a finite form but a participle. Should we not read *convincentes*?

13, 55. *quibus de rebus Aristotelem et Theophrastum scripsisse fateor; sed vide ne hoc, Scaevola, totum sit a me: nam ego, quae sunt oratori cum illis communia, non mutuor ab illis; ipsi (Kayser, the MSS. isti) quae de his rebus disputant, oratorum esse concedunt, itaque ceteros libros artis suae nomine, hos rhetoricos et inscribunt et appellant.*

The last part of the sentence can hardly mean that Aristotle and Theophrastus give their other books a general title belonging to—characteristic of—‘their art’ (*suae artis*), while giving to their rhetorical works the general *ῥητορικά*. The special subjects mentioned in the next sentence help to show that Cicero meant to say that while they gave their works on other subjects titles indicative of the special departments or sciences (*artes*) of which the works severally treated, they gave their rhetorical treatises the general title *ῥητορικά* (*libri oratorii*). But this is not what Cicero’s sen-

tence in the traditional form, makes him say. We must restore a lost word. Read: itaque ceteros libros artis suae < quemque > nomine, hos rhetoricos &c.

13, 57 haec ego cum ipsis philosophis tum Athenis disserebam; cogebat enim me M. Marcellus hic noster, qui nunc aedilis curulis est et profecto, nisi ludos nunc faceret, huic nostro sermoni interesset, ac iam tum erat adulescentulus his studiis mirifice deditus.

The sentence seems to me to have received somewhat harsh treatment at the hands of several eminent scholars. In the first place on the authority of some MSS. the *tum* before *Athenis* is bracketed (Kayser, Sorof, Wilkins—even third edition, Friedrich; retained by Piderit-Harnecker). Surely the fact that in this sentence the somewhat garrulous speaker is resuming the *audivi enim summos homines, cum quaestor ex Macedonia venissem Athenas* of 11, 45 is abundant reason for its presence. In the latter part of the sentence Cobet bracketed the words *nunc aedilis curulis est et*, in accordance with his favourite theory of glossal interpolation. This athetesis has been accepted by Kayser and by Professor Wilkins (all three editions). But to this there is a—*mea quidem opinione*—fatal obstacle, namely in the *iam tum* (Sorof prints *tunc*) in the contrasted member of the sentence. To this the *nunc* before *faceret* is not a sufficient contrast. If there were a glossal interpolation here, the original form of the text would more probably be *qui nunc profecto, nisi faceret, huic nostro sermoni interesset*. Indeed it may well be said that that is the form in which this part of the sentence would naturally have been cast; for Crassus by his very words *hic noster* implies that Marcellus is present (cf. *huic nostro sermoni*) and then corrects himself by saying that Marcellus would surely be present were he not occupied by his duties as aedile. Notwithstanding this, however, the contrasted clause forces us to accept, not merely *nunc* before *aedilis curulis*, but also *curulis aedilis* (for is not this term, implying maturity, contrasted with *adulescentulus*?), and *est* too, which is contrasted with *erat*. Roughly translated, in order to mark its successive corrections and approximations, the sentence runs: 'For I was constrained thereto (*i.e. ut cum ipsis philosophis dissererem*) by M. Marcellus—our friend here—(I mean) the one that *now* is curule aedile and would, of course, were

he not at the present moment engaged in superintending the festival, be taking part in this talk of ours, and who already *at that time*, as a mere lad, was surprisingly devoted to these studies'. A lighter punctuation before *ac iam tum erat*, which forms merely the second member of the relative sentence begun by *qui*, seems required. I have used a comma instead of the prevailing semicolon. Perhaps the omission of all pointing were better still. The thoroughly conversational tone of the sentence as thus explained is not its least charm.

By way of appendix to the notes on *De Oratore I*. I venture to add the following suggestions of changes of reading in *de Oratore II*.

5, 19 *tum Catulus 'ne Graeci quidem,' inquit, 'Crasse, qui in civitatibus suis clari et magni fuerunt, sicuti tu es nosque omnes in nostra republica volumus esse, < nec > horum Graecorum, qui se inculcant auribus nostris, similes fuerunt, [nec] in otio (or, [nec] tamen in otio)—fugiebant; cet.*

29, 127 *hic Crassus 'quin tu,' inquit, 'Antoni, omitte s< is > ista (MSS. omittis ista), quae proposuisti, quae nemo desiderat.*

There is also a passage in the *de lege Manilia* (4, 10) that is very clearly wrong. Read: *ut neque vera laus ei detracta oratione mea neque falsa adfixa (not adficta!) esse videatur*. Of course, the error is due to the preceding *falsa*,—*e falso falsum*. (Unless, indeed, *adficta* be regarded as the archaic form of *adfixa*: see Munro on *Lucr.* 3, 4: in either case, however, the contrast with *detracta* makes it reasonably certain that we have to do with a participle of *adfigere* not of *adfigere*.)

NOTES ON CICERO, *DE NATURA DEORUM*, I.¹

1. The broken connection of thought is to be mended thus: *de qua < tamen > tam variae sunt doctissimorum hominum*, etc.

3-4. The original order may well have been as follows: *Sunt*

¹[From the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXXIII (1902), pp. lxx-lxxi.]

*enim philosophi et fuerunt qui omnino nullam habere censerent rerum humanarum procurationem deos. Quorum si vera sententia est, quae potest esse pietas, quae sanctitas, quae religio? Sin autem di neque possunt nos iuvare. nec volunt nec omnino curant nec quid agamus animadvertunt nec est quod ab iis ad hominum vitam permanare possit, quid est quod ullos dis immortalibus cultus, honores, preces adhibeamus? Haec enim omnia pure atque caste tribuenda deorum numini ita sunt, si animadvertuntur ab iis et si est aliquid a dis immortalibus hominum generi tributum. In specie autem fictae simulationis, sicut reliquae virtutes, item pietas inesse non potest, cum qua simul sanctitatem et religionem tolli necesse est; atque haud scio an pietate adversus deos sublata fides etiam et societas generis humani et una excellentissima virtus, iustitia, tollatur, quibus sublatis perturbatio vitae sequitur et magna confusio. In the MSS. the words *Haec enim omnia . . . hominum generi tributum* follow *quae religio?* and the words *quibus sublatis . . . confusio* follow *tolli necesse est*. The transposition of the latter sentence seems first to have been suggested by Wyttenbach.*

16. We should, I think, read: *Peripateticos, qui honesta < ita > commiscerent cum commodis, ut ea.....differrent.*

22. We should probably read: *Quid autem erat quod concupisceret deus mundum signis et luminibus, tanquam aedilis, ornare? Si, ut ipse melius habitaret, etc.,* omitting the word *deus* between *ut* and *ipse*.

25. For *Anaximandri autem opinio est nativos esse deos longis intervallis orientes occidentesque, eosque innumerabiles esse mundos* should probably be read *Anaximandri autem opinio est nativos esse deos, eosque . . . mundos longis intervallis orientes occidentesque.*

37. In the explicative clause *qui aether nominatur* should be written rather than *q. ae. nominetur*.

88. Cicero seems to have written: *Ita fit ut mediterranei mare esse non credant < at > que sint tantae animi angustiae, ut, si Seriphi natus esses.....non crederes, etc.* For *< at > que sint* the MSS. have *quae sunt*.

90. The traditional text is: *sed hoc dico, non ab hominibus formae figuram venisse ad deos; di enim semper fuerunt, nati numquam sunt—si quidem aeterni sunt futuri; at homines nati; ante igitur humana forma quam homines ea qua erant forma di immortales:*

non ergo illorum humana forma, sed nostra divina dicenda est.
The conclusion of the syllogism I would correct thus: *ante igitur quam <qua> homines ea qua erant forma di immortales non ergo illorum humana, sed nostra divina dicenda est.*

101. A particle needs to be inserted thus: *Dant enim arcum sagittas, hastam clipeum, fuscina fulmen; <nam>, etsi actiones quae sint deorum non vident, nihil agentem tamen deum non queunt cogitare.*

107. I conjecture that we should read: *Quo modo illae ergo* (so Reid) *et quorum?* omitting, as a mere gloss, the traditional *imagines* after *quorum*.

AD CICERONIS CATONEM MAIOREM.¹

2, 6. Scribendum est fortasse: Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam aliquam viam confeceris quam nobis quoque ingrediundum sit, istuc quo pervenisti <tu> videre quale sit.

3, 8. A Cicerone scriptum videtur esse: Nec, Hercule, inquit, ego, si Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis, clarus umquam fuisses. Traditum est: si ego Seriphius essem. Graeca sunt (Plat. rep. 330 A): ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν αὐτὸς Σερίφιος ὡν ὀνομαστὸς ἐγένετο οὐτ' ἐκείνος Ἀθηναῖος. Verum vidit cum aliis Reid, sed in editionibus adhuc propagatur error.

5, 14. Traditum est: Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt, quod non faciebat is cuius modo mentionem feci, Ennius:

sic ut fortis equus spatio qui saepe supremo
vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam cet. In altero e versibus Ennii correxerunt iam quidam *quiesco*, id quod procul dubio ipse dedit; sed equidem plus quam propensus sum ad credendum ipsos Ennii versus a Cicerone non esse perscriptos, sed laudatam tantum eorum sententiam. Quanto melius sese habeat totus locus hunc in modum constitutus: Sua enim vitia . . . is cuius modo mentionem feci poeta, <qui> equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam cet.

8, 26. Scribendum esse censeo: ut et Solonem <in> versibus gloriantem videmus. Infra autem equidem non dubito quin

¹ [From *Revue de Philologie*, Vol. XXVIII (1904), pp. 123-124.]

legendum sit: quod cum fecisse Socraten in fidibus audierim (pro: audirem), vellem equidem etiam illud cet.

11, 38. Exspectarim: quae si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogitantem quae iam agere non possem; sed ut queam (pro possim) facit acto vita cet. Non enim inter sese opposita sunt *non possem* et ea quae continuo insecuntur, sed *si exsequi nequirem* et *ut possim* (pro quo *ut queam* modo reponebam). Illud *ut queam* idem valeat atque *ut exsequi queam*.

23, 84. Traditum est: commorandi enim Natura deversorium nobis, non habitandi dedit? Tanquam interpretamentum expellendum esse censeo illud *deversorium*, ut rescribantur verba tradita hunc in modum: commorandi enim Natura *locum* nobis, non habitandi dedit.

CICERO ORAT. 30.¹

Traditum nobis est Ciceronem Orat. 30 de contionibus illis quibus Thucydides opus suum ornavit iudicium fecisse hunc in modum:

Ipsae illae contiones ita multas habent obscuras abditasque sententias vix ut intellegantur.

Quae tamen verba, ut quibus vix fieri possit ut integras Cicero contiones Thucydideas obscuritatis insimulare voluerit, mihi quidem non est dubium quin levi sed perniciosa corruptela laborent. Nam mutata, quaeso, verborum collocatione sic locum modo laudatum rescribe:

Ipsae illae contiones multae ita habent obscuras abditasque sententias vix ut intellegantur.

Num vel syllaba addita causa mea indiget?

DE LIVII PRAEFATIONE 3.²

Hunc ad modum scripsisse credo Livium: *et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum meo qui nomini officient me consoler.*

Quibus in verbis e librariorum turba unus tam stolidus fuit ut pro *meo* scripserit *me*, pro *me* autem *meo*, qui error per totam inde codicum seriem propagatus est praefationis huius elegantiae haud ita modice officiens.

¹ [From *Revue de Philologie*, Vol. XXIX (1905), p. 32.]

² [From *Mnemosyne*, Vol. XXXIII (1905), p. 397.]

ON THE *APOCOLOCYNTOSIS* OF SENECA.¹

The verses in c. 15 are surely not in their proper order; but, if we make the fourth verse the first, we shall read smoothly thus:

'Et iam coeperat fugientes semper tesserarum quaerere et nihil proficere

fusuro similis semper semperque petenti;
nam, quotiens missurus erat resonante fritillo,
utraque subducto fugiebat tessera fundo,
cumque recollectos arderet² mittere talos,
decepere fidem' cet.

After the verses we read: 'apparuit subito C. Caesar' cet. Surely we should expect the words 'Et iam coeperat' cet. to be followed by '<cum> apparuit subito C. Caesar' cet.

There are one or two other places in the *Apocolocyntosis* about which I venture to offer suggestions at this time. Thus, in c. 5 the sentence that begins 'Tum Hercules' cannot well be right in its traditional form. I offer the following attempt at correction. 'Tum Hercules primo aspectu sane perturbatus est et qui etiam omnia monstra non timuerit,³ ut vidit novi generis faciem, insolitum incessum, vocem . . . raucam et implicatam, putavit sibi tertium decimum laborem venis <se>; se<d> diligentius intuenti visus est quasi homo.' Near the beginning of c. 12 we might well expect to find 'Et erat omnino formosissimum et impensa <cum> cura.' Again, in c. 13 the words 'primi omnium liberti Polybius . . . Pheronactus, quos Claudius omnes, necubi imparatus esset, praemiserat' seem to contain a flaw in the adjective *imparatus*. Can it be that an otherwise unattested *inapparitus* 'unattended' lurks here?

NOTE ON STATIUS'S *THEBAID* II. 294.⁴

In Statius's *Thebaid* II. 294 sqq., we find these verses (the reference is to the necklace of Harmonia):

Teque etiam, infelix, perhibent, Iocasta, decorum
possedisse nefas; vultus hac laude colebas,
heu quibus, heu placitura toris! post longior ordo.

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. XIX (1905), p. 303.]

² As I would write, with Palmer, instead of the traditional 'auderet.'

³ In 'qui . . . timuerit' the corruption probably lies deeper.

[From the *Classical Review*, Vol. X (1896), p. 3.]

Evidently *laude* is wrong; but Baehrens's *luce* does not seem extremely probable palaeographically, nor does it yield a brilliant sense. I would suggest *clade*. The explanation is simple: *hacclade* came to be written *haclade*, and was 'corrected' into *hac laude*. We may, perhaps, find further support for *clade* in vv. 301-303.

OBSERVATIUNCULAE AD LOCOS QUOSDAM POETARUM ROMANORUM.¹

Verg. Ecl. 1, 19 imprimi solet *sed tamen iste deus qui sit da, Tityre, nobis*. At de nomine tantum illius dei quaeritur. Ergo reponendum esse mihi videtur—id quod aliis quoque visum est—*quis sit*. Aliter res se habet Ecl. 2, 19, ubi de sorte ac condicione Corydonis agitur; illic igitur recte se habet *qui* in verbis quae sunt *nec qui sim quaeris*.

Verg. Ecl. 1, 62 *pererratis* participium sic intellegendum esse censeo quasi scripserit poeta: permutatis. Nam de finium permutatione non de pererratione hominum inter se finis commutantium hic agi demonstrare videtur tota loci sententia. Nimium metro concessisse hoc loco Vergilium adhuc adulescentem equidem crediderim.

Verg. Ecl. 2, 2 intellegere non possum qui fiat ut in editionibus, dissuadente uno, quod sciam, Brunckio, imprimi soleat minime latinum illud hoc quidem significatu *nec quid speraret habebat*. Quin reponimus, quod solum est verum, *nec quod speraret habebat*. Sensus enim aperte est—id quod falsa ista lectione retenta intellexit ille vir qui editionem in usum Delphini curavit—: Nec quidquam sperare poterat, sive: neque ullum spem habebat (sc. amoris fruendi). Vix esse debebat cur relegarem ad Cic. Cat. m. 19, 68 *At senex ne quod speret quidem habet*.

Verg. Ecl. 2, 12 recte fecit Ribbeckius, qui Benteleio praeunte—idem autem suasisse Heinsium auctor mihi est Heynius—*me cum* imprimendum curaverit. Id ut fiat postulat membrorum inter se oppositio enuntiationis eius quae versibus 8-13 continetur. (Ac vero eodem modo multis iam ante saeculis verba intellexit Nemesianus qui (Ecl. 4, 41) sic scripsit: *Me sonat omnis | silva, nec aestivis cantu concedo cicadis*.) Sed illud quoque erat hoc loco animadvertendum, Vergilio dum haec scribit obversata esse verba Catulli 64, 353 sq.

¹ [From *Revue de Philologie*, Vol. XXVII (1903), pp. 269-272.]

velut densas praesternens messor aristas | sole sub ardenti flauentia demetit arua. Apud Vergilium vsu. 10 de messoribus agitur, versu autem 13 recurrit illud *sole sub ardenti*, quod isti loco eo est minus aptum quod inter densas fagos Corydon incondita sua iactat. Com-memorandum etiam illud esse censeo Vergiliana verba hunc in modum esse distinguenda:

at me cum raucis, tua dum vestigia lustrō
sole sub ardenti, resonant arbusta cicadis.

Primum haec uno versu conclusa scripsisse videtur: *at me cum raucis resonant arbusta cicadis*, deinde reliqua adiecisse. Atque etiam Catulli 66^{ti} carminis et 39^{mum} versus et 47^{mum} a Vergilio imitatione expressi testimonio esse debent notissima fuisse Vergilio longiora illa e carminibus catullianis. Vide sis editorum ad eos versus adnotationes.

Verg. Ecl. 3, 65 desideratur particula aduersativa. Qua de causa scribendum esse censeo *et fugit ad salices, set se cupit ante videri*.

Horatio C. 1, 2 scribenti obuersatum opinor Catull. 11. Confer enim quaeso Horat. C. 1, 2, 7 sq. *pecus egit altos visere montes* et ibid. 15 *ire deiectum monimenta regis* cum Catull. 11, 9 sq. *Sive trans altas gradietur Alpes | Caesaris visens monimenta magni*. Ne mihi quidem abest suspicio quin Horatianum *aequore dammas* (12) colorem quasi traxerit a Catulli *aequora Nilus* (8).

Apud ipsum Catullum primi carminis initium ita intelligendum esse suspicor, ut *dono* non verbum sed nomen esse putemus. Idem igitur valet illud *Quoi dono* atque: Cui dono dem.

Catull. 2, 11-13 non ad secundum quod nunc est carmen pertinere satis esse debebat perspicuum. Suspisor equidem intercidisse versum in eodem vocabulo desinentem quo versum 11^{mum}, ut totum carmen, quod sic tertium esset, quattuor fuerit versuum, quorum primus: *Passer, deliciae meae puellae*. Is versus fortasse latet 3 (quod nunc est), 4, unde eum expellere volebat Sillig.

Catull. 10, 7 *iam* particulam minime possum concoquere. Reponendum esse censeo *nam*, ut idem valeat *quid esset | nam Bithynia* atque: quidnam esset Bithynia. Atque v^o 8 *iam* dudum postliminio reuersum stat *ecquonam*.—Versus 9^{us} sic est distinguendus: *Respondi — id quod erat — mihi neque ipsi* (nam in fine versus sic scribendum esse credo atque insequente versu *nec quaestoribus*; alioquin enim illud *praesertim quibus* (12) non habet quo apte referatur). Atque

vv. 14-16 melius se habet haec distinctio: *quod illic | natum dicitur esse comparasti, | ad lecticam homines*. — Versus 28-30 sic distinctos velim: *illud quod modo dixeram me habere — | fugit me ratio; meus sodalis — | Cinna est Gaius — is ibi paravit*. Illud cum *paravit* artissimo vinculo est coniungendum, ut obiectum directum verbi pronomen sit; cum intenta autem voce sunt enuntianda et *me* et *meus sodalis* et *Cinna* et *is*. Hinc cum alia apparent tum illud quoque, cum Arthuro Palmer *me* facere sagacissime suspicante nomina Cinnae Gai et Catulli Gai quasi tacite inter sese hic opponi. — De huius carminis scriptura hoc unum amplius addam, v^{su} 32 — id quod a quibusdam (atque utinam ab omnibus!) iam dudum est perspectum — non ferri posse *mihi pararim*. Nam e tralaticia scriptura haec evadit sententia: Utor eis tam bene quam si mihi, non alteri, *pararim*. At nec sibi ipse neque alteri lecticarios comparaverat Catullus. Ergo solum vera vetusta iam coniectura *paratis*.

Initio carminis decimi Catullus se dicit a Varo e foro ductum esse otiosum. Otium igitur in causa fuit cur ludibrio esset scortillo. Undecimum carmen notissimo illo sapphico compositum est metro, quo metro non amplius usus est Catullus praeterquam in carmine 51^o — nisi adnumeres versiculos de otio. Ii autem versiculi falso illuc inferi sunt ubi steterat finis carminis e Sapphone expressi. Aliunde eos huc translatos esse suspicor et quidem e vicinitate alterius illius poematii sapphici. Ne multa, versiculos illos de otio molesto, ioculariter sane illos quidem scriptos, inter carmina quae nunc sunt 10^{um} et 11^{um} ab ipso Catullo primitus collocatos esse conicio, ut decimum illud carmen aperte respicerent instar notissimi illius "Haec fabula docet."

Catull. 64, 351 *putridaque infirmis variabunt pectora palmis* et ipsa putrida — sit venia verbo — videtur esse scriptura. Post mortem demum hominibus putrida esse pectora solent. At non de cadaveribus hoc loco agitur. Ergo reponendum — quod solum verum esse videtur — *putria*; quod idem Heinsio placuisse certior factus gaudeo. Ceteri, quod sciam, editores mendum intactum reliquerunt.

Catull. 64, 384 *namque* particulam traiectionem accipiunt editores, quod minime est verum; nam tota loci sententia in *praesentes* cum *Parcae* artissime coniuncto quasi cardine vertitur. Tu igitur vsus 382-4 sic distingue: *Talia praefantes quondam felicia Pelei | car-*

mina divino cecinere <e> pectore Parcae | praesentes; namque ante domos cet. Huius distinguendi rationis felicia—ut Catulli (an scribae alicuius?) *scrinia compilem*—non est cur ego praefer; ipse sibi quisque statim perspexerit.

ON VERGIL, ECLOGUES, I. 68-70.¹

En umquam patrios longo post tempore finis
pauperis et tuguri congesto caespite culmen
post aliquot mea regna videns mirabor aristas?

Both the interpretations of v. 70 that have been offered are well objected to—without, however, the offer of anything better—in Conington's note *ad loc.* The traditional interpretation according to which *aristas* = *messes* = *aestates* = *annos*, would have everything in its favour, but for the feeble *aliquot*. But it seems not to have occurred to any one to correct this word. I have long thought, and still think, that the passage is to be righted by a change—palaeographically scarcely a change—in *aliquot*. I would write and point the passage thus:

en umquam patrios longo post tempore finis
pauperis et tuguri congesto caespite culmen—
post, ah, quot mea regna videns mirabor aristas?

It may be added that *ah* occurs in the *Eclogues* as follows: 1, 15; 2, 60; 6, 47, 52, 77; 10, 47, 48, 49.

AD VERGILII AENEIDEM, I. 39 sqq.²

Pallasne exurere classem

Argivom atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto
unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei?
Ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem
disiecitque ratis evertitque aequora ventis,
illum exspirantem transfixo pectore flammam
turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto;
ast ego, quae divom incedo regina Iovisque
et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos
bella gero.

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. X (1896), p. 194.]

² [From *Mnemosyne*, Vol. XXXI (1903), p. 46.]

His in versibus nequaquam clare apparet ea oppositio quae exstare debebat cum inter Minervam et Iunonem tum inter naves et Aiacem (cf. sis illud *classem Argivom atque ipsos*): et mihi quidem vix esse dubitandum videtur quin e multis illis qui volventibus annis Vergilii carmina exscripserunt ab aliquo ita peccatum fuerit, ut quae fuerunt *illa* et *ipsum* pronomina, ea commiscuerit atque in alterius alterum sedem leviter mutata forma migrare coegerit. Quod si verum est, ita refingendus est locus:

Illa Iovis rapidum cet.

ipsum exspirantem cet.

NOTE ON AENEID, IX. 485.¹

Miram habemus participii concordiam si verum id est quod praestant meliores codices Verg. Aen. 9, 485, ubi mater Euryali audita eius morte inter alia heu, inquit, terra ignota canibus *data* praeda Latinis. Exspectandum sane erat vel *datus* — nisi metrum obstaret — vel *date*. Hoc praestant teste Hirtzelio deteriores quidam codices atque quod maius procul dubio est favebat huic lectioni Bentley aut proprio Marte coniectura eam est assecutus. Originem duxit illud *data* ab altera *data* quod hoc positum est in versu superiore (adfari extremum miserae *data* copia matri).

¹ [Ms. note.]

GREEK GRAMMAR, LEXICOGRAPHY AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

THE SUBJUNCTIVE OF PURPOSE IN RELATIVE CLAUSES IN GREEK.¹

Professor Tarbell's brief notice of 'The Deliberative Subjunctive in Relative Clauses in Greek,' published in the July number of the *Review* (p. 302), informed me that I had not been a-mare's-nesting alone in a rather out-of-the-way corner of Greek syntax.

Some years ago my attention was arrested by the construction of the subjunctive in Xen. *Anab.* I. 7, 7: ὥστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ὅτι δῶ ἐκάστω τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὖ γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἱκανοὺς οἷς δῶ, and also in the similar passage Xen. *Anab.* II. 4, 19-20: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν πολλὰί γέφυραι ὥσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅποιοι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν ἐὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἐκεῖνοι ὅποιοι φύγωσιν.

The construction appeared to me then, as it still does, after comparison of other passages, one of purpose; for we might—*grammaticae causa*—write in the former passage ὅπως (ἂν) αὐτοῖς δῶ, and in the latter τόπον ἐπιτήδειον ὅπως (ἂν) ἐκέισε φυγόντες σωθῶμεν.

I was glad to find my view supported by so excellent an authority as Professor Goodwin. His several statements on the subject are as follows:

Gk. Moods and Tenses (ed. 7, 1879) § 65, 1, N. 1 (a) (p. 138):

'The Future Indicative is the only form regularly used in prose after the relative in this sense' (i. e. to express purpose).

Ibid. § 65, 1, N. 3 (a) (p. 139):

'The Attic Greek allows the subjunctive in such phrases as ἔχει ὅτι εἴπη, *he has something to say*; where the irregularity seems to be caused by the analogy of the common expression οὐκ ἔχει ὅτι (or τί) εἴπη, equivalent to οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι εἴπη *he knows not what he shall say*, which contains an indirect statement' (i. e. an indirect deliberative question).

Under the second of these statements, which obviously bears

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. VI (1892), pp. 93-95.]

directly upon the point in question, we find cited as the first example Isoc. *Pan.* p. 49 C. § 44 (one of Professor Tarbell's examples): Τοιούτον ἔθος παρέδωσαν, ὥστε . . . ἑκατέρους ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν, with the translation *that both may have things in which they 'may glory'*. Goodwin adds in parenthesis:

'Here there is no indirect question, for the meaning is not *that they may know in what they are to glory*', and he cites his note appended to Felton's *Isocrates*, p. 135, which I quote here for the sake of comparison:

'The peculiar use of the subjunctive in ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν may perhaps be explained by the analogy of the common construction οὐκ ἔχω τί (or ὃ τι) εἶπω, *non habeo quid dicam*, where the indirect question is obvious. The transition from οὐκ ἔχω ὃ τι εἶπω to ἔχω ὃ τι εἶπω might be easily made, although in the latter all trace of the indirect question disappears. Other similar examples are cited by Krüger (Gr. Gr. § 54. 7, A. 2), in all of which the leading verb is ἔχω. These are Plat. *Symp.* p. 194 D [another of Professor Tarbell's examples], εἰ μόνον ἔχη ὅτῃ διαλέγηται, and Xen. *Oecon.* 7, 20, ἔξειν ὃ τι εισφέρειωσιν. In Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 255 E [one of Professor Tarbell's examples, wrongly cited as 254 E] and Lysias *in Andoc.* § 42, we have the same construction, if we accept Bekker's emendation ὃ τι λέγει for ὃ τι λέγει, which the sense seems to require. Compare also Plat. *Ion.* p. 535 B, where we find ἀπορεῖς ὃ τι λέγῃς and εὐπορεῖς ὃ τι λέγῃς in the same sentence; here the transition is especially simple. Even if we explain εὐπορεῖς ὃ τι λέγῃς as an indirect question [though it seems clearly quite equivalent to ἔχεις ὃ τι λέγῃς, cf. ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες = ἵππους λαβόντες, Xen. *Hellen.* I. 35], it seems a perversion of language to apply that name to the others as Krüger does. Of course, these remarks will not apply to the doubtful example Thucyd. vii. 25, discussed in the note [*i. e.* in an insertion in Felton's commentary on Isocrates *Pan.*, *loc. cit.*], or to the cases of the optative there quoted.' The passages from Plat. *Symp.* and Xen. *Oecon.* are cited in the *Moods and Tenses* (*loc. cit.*).

Goodwin's note referred to in the last quotation deserves to be given here in full, as follows:

'The subjunctive and optative are very rare in this construction in Attic Greek, the future indicative being the only regular form. In Homer, however, the subjunctive and optative are commonly

used, this older construction corresponding precisely to the Latin, as the relation of the two languages would lead us to expect. Another (doubtful) Attic example of the subjunctive may be found in Thuc. vii, 25 *πρέσβεις ἄγουσα, ὥπερ φράσωνσιν, καὶ . . . ἐπ' ὁ τρύνωσιν*. Krüger, in his note on this passage of Thuc. (2nd edit., 1861), is very severe on those who retain *ὥπερ* with the subjunctive, for which he substitutes *ὅπως* on the authority of a single MS. [Classen's note on the passage (2nd edit., 1884), is this: '*ὅπως* aus dem vat. st. *ὥπερ* von den neueren Herausgg. aufgenommen, da das Relativpronomen mit einem Konjunktiv des Zweckes im attischen Sprachgebrauch nicht nachzuweisen ist.'] He explains *φιλοτιμηθῶσιν*, in the present passage of Isocrates, as a subjunctive in an (indirect) dubitative question [*i. e.* the explanation of Professor Tarbell, following Madvig]. The following examples of the aorist optative, however, show at least that the older construction was not unknown to the Attic poets:— *ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' ἐντόπον, οὐδ' ὅστις ἀρκέσειν οὐδ' ὅστις συλλάβοιτο*, Soph. *Phil.* 280; *γόνιμον δὲ ποιητὴν ἂν οὐχ εὖροις ἐτι ζητῶν ἂν, ὅστις ῥήμα γενναῖον λάκοι*, Aristoph. *Ran.* 96. In ver. 98 of the *Ran.* we find the regular Attic construction, *ὅστις φθέγγεται*, referring to precisely the same thing as *ὅστις λάκοι* above. Both these examples of the optative must be explained as relative sentences, and the subjunctive is certainly not more objectionable than the optative. Nor can the present example from Isocr. be explained as interrogative without great violence to the sense; the idea is not *that they may know what they are to glory in*, but *that they may have things in which they may glory*. See also *ἵφ' οὗ πεισθέντες πρόισθε*, Dem. *Phil.* ii. § 8.

In *G. M. and T.* § 65, n. 3 (b) (ed. 7) we find the statement: 'The Present or Aorist Optative very rarely occurs in Attic Greek after a past tense, but more frequently after another optative.' The examples are those given above with the addition of Plat. *Rep.* iii. 398 B, *ὅς μιμοῖτο καὶ λέγοι* (depending on *χρώμεθα ἂν*). Dem. *Phil.* ii. § 8 appears as Dem. *Phil.* ii. 67, 20 (with fuller text and *προεῖσθε* for *πρόισθε*).

Goodwin, however, is hardly consistent in his treatment; for under *G. M. and T.* § 71 (ed. 7): 'when a question in the direct form would be expressed by an *interrogative Subjunctive*, indirect ques-

tions after primary tenses retain the Subjunctive; after secondary tenses the Subjunctive may be either changed to the same tense of the Optative or retained in its original form,' we find not only Aesch. *P.* 471 (Professor Tarbell's first example), but also (albeit with the qualification that it 'may be explained on this principle as an interrogative, or by § 65, 1, n. 3 [see above], as a relative clause') Xen. *Anab.* i. 7, 7, which clearly belongs to the other class of passages; and this inconsistency will be found in the revised edition (1890) of the *G. M. and T.*

In this new edition we find the first statement cited above from the old edition unchanged in §§ 572-3. The examples of the optative under § 573 comprise (besides Soph. *Phil.* 281 of Professor Tarbell's list) Soph. *Tr.* 903, *κρύψας' εαυτὴν ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι, βρυχᾶτο* (a verse which does not well suit the context as it stands, and which I suspect to be corrupt), and Plat. *Rep.* 578 E, *εἰ τις θεῶν ἄνδρα θεῖη εἰς ἐρημίαν, ὅπου αὐτῷ μηδεὶς μέλλει βοηθήσειν*, in which latter, however, the optative is merely an ordinary instance of attraction of mood, the idea of purpose being contained in *μέλλειν* without regard to the mood. (Goodwin's remark in parenthesis 'This may be purely conditional' is a good example of the mental bias which has led him to drag in a 'condition' at every turn to the great detriment of a valuable work.)

As will be seen by the quotations I have made, more than one-half of Professor Tarbell's examples—'of the phenomenon which had not been recognized by any previous grammarian'—have been examined and discussed by Krüger and Goodwin.

It seems to me now that τὰ πολλὰ προκόψας, οὐ πολλοῦ πόνου με δεῖ in setting in clear light the source of the error into which Professor Tarbell and others have fallen in discussing the construction in hand. The trouble, I believe, lies entirely in the ambiguity of ἔχω = 1, 'I have,' 2, 'I know' = οἶδα (cf. κατέχω in Romaic), 3, 'I am able' = δύναμαι, and of ὅστις = 1. An indefinite or general relative, 2. τις introducing an indirect question. To ἔχω¹ answers ἔστι with a personal pronoun in the dative expressed or understood, and the definite or particular relative may, as we have seen above, be used as well as the indefinite or general, though this is less common.

It remains for me, before enumerating and commenting upon

some examples which I have collected from my own reading, to examine the three examples which Professor Tarbell gives of a so-called deliberative clause after other verbs than *ἔχω* and *ἔστι*.

Soph. *Phil.* 938: *ὑμῖν τάδ', οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον οἶδ' ὅτῳ λέγω* may be paraphrased *οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον ἔχω, καθὰ οἶδα, ὅτῳ λέγω*. The fact that the antecedent is here expressed seems enough to show that there is no relation with an indirect question. So Isocr. xxi. 1: *Οὐ προφάσεως ἀπορῶ, δι' ἣντινα λέγω ὑπὲρ Νικίου τουτουί* = *ἔχω πρόφασιν κτέ.* where also the antecedent is expressed.

In Soph. *Phil.* 279 sqq. *ὁρῶντα μὲν ναῦς, ἅς ἔχων ἐνανυστόλουν, | πάσας βεβώσας, ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' ἐντοπον, | οὐχ (ἄνδρα) ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν, οὐδ' (ἄνδρα) ὅστις νόσου | κάμνοντι συλλάβοιτο*, the object of *ὁρῶντα* is not *ναῦς* but *ναῦς βεβώσας* (the fact of their departure), and it does no violence to the thought to supply *ἔχοντα* governing *ἄνδρα*. At all events, the expression is but a short step beyond the customary.

In the first of my examples from the *Anabasis* (vid. supra) *ἔχω* is evidently *ἔχω*¹ and the sentence is to be explained like that in Isocr. *Pan.* In Romaic one would say *δὲ(ν) φοβοῦμαι (φοβᾶμαι) νὰ μὴν ἔχω τίποτε νὰ δώσω (δώκω)*, an additional proof, as I believe, that the explanation of such a construction as one of purpose is in accordance with the genius of the Greek language. In my second example, although I am inclined to take *ἔχω* as *ἔχω*¹, it may be understood as *ἔχω*² and the dependent clause will then contain a deliberative subjunctive. In Xen. *Hellen.* I. 3. 21 and I. 4. 15 there is a like possible ambiguity.

In Soph. *Antig.* 270 sqq.: *οὐ γὰρ εἴχομεν | οὐτ' ἀντιφωνεῖν οὐθ' ὅπως δρῶντες καλῶς | πράξαιμεν*, the infinitive in the first member seems to prove (as Professor Jebb thinks, who cites as parallel *Ai.* 428, cf. his note *ad loc.*) that *ἔχω* here is *ἔχω*².

Eur. *Orest.* 722 sq.: *κοῦκ ἔτ' εἰσὶν ἐλπίδες, | ὅποι τραπόμενος θάνατον Ἀργείων φύγω* is another instance of the purpose-construction.

Eur. *Alc.* 120 sq.: *οὐκ ἔχω ἐπὶ τίνα | μελοθύταν πορευθῶ κτέ.* seems clearly an instance of *ἔχω*² as shown by the interrogative pronoun.

Aesch. *Ag.* 1530 sqq.: *ἀμχανῶ φροντίδος στερηθεῖς*—*ὅπα τράπωμαι* is again an example of the indirect deliberative. Notice that here the phrase *ἀμχανῶ φροντίδος στερηθεῖς* is a strong *οὐκ οἶδα*.

A good example of the purpose-construction from a later writer is Plut. *Caes.* c. 5: *οὕτω διέθηκε τὸν δῆμον, ὥς καινὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς, καινὰς*

δὲ τιμὰς ζητεῖν ἕκαστον, αἷς αὐτὸν ἀμείψαι ν τ ο, unless this be deemed a Latinism.

If the MSS. are to be trusted, we sometimes have the optative of purpose, instead of the subjunctive, after primary tenses. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 112-117: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ναυκληρίαν | ἔσθ' ὅποι τις—παρὰλύσαι (MSS—λύσαι, Nauck—λύσει), Aesch. *Prom.* 291 sq. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ | μείζονα μοῖραν νείμαι μ' ἢ σοί (cited by Jerram, ad Eur. *Alc. loc. cit.*), Aesch. *Cho.* 172: οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πλὴν ἐμοῦ κείραι νιν (M. κείρετό νείν). Other examples of this construction, some emendable to the subjunctive, are given along with instances of the optative without ἄν in direct questions, in Mr Sidgwick's valuable Appendix I of his edition of the *Choepheroe*.

In conclusion I add one example (there are doubtless others in Attic writers¹) of the relative clause of purpose after δίδωμι—Hes. *Op.* 57 sq.: τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ ἀντὶ πυρὸς δώσω κακὸν ᾧ κεν ἄπαντες—τέρπωνται κατὰ θυμὸν ἐὼν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες.

NOTES ON THE SUBJUNCTIVE OF PURPOSE IN RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ATTIC GREEK.²

The paper contained an examination of the idiom οὐκ ἔστι (μοι), or οὐκ ἔχω, ὅς (ὅστις or rel. adv.) and subj. (or opt. after secondary tense). The prototype of the Attic idiom was sought in Homeric Greek: Cf. *Il.* 21, 111 sqq., *Il.* 19, 355-7, *Il.* 6, 450 sqq., *Il.* 4, 164, *Il.* 21, 103 sq., *Od.* 6, 201 sqq., *Il.* 3, 459 sq., *Od.* 15, 310 sq., with Soph. *Ai.* 514 sq., Eur. *H. F.* 1245, Xen. *Anab.* 1. 7, 7, Eur. *Or.* 722 sq. (For other examples from Attic Greek, see *Class. Rev.* vi. pp. 93-5.)³ It was suggested that "the gradual obsolescence of the subjunctive which can be traced in Ionic and Attic Greek in what Weber calls 'unvollständige Finalsätze' with ὅπως, seems to have gone hand in hand with a similar obsolescence in the kindred relative final-clauses (i. e. relative in the more restricted sense). In this process the finite construction of the rel. clause may have been influenced by the use of the fut. particip. to express purpose after verbs of motion, a usage so extensive in Ionic Greek that in

¹ [Professor Earle had queried this statement in his copy.]

² [From the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXIII (1892), pp. xvii-xviii.]

³ [See last article.]

Herodotus viii-ix, which according to my examination, contain *not a single fut. rel. clause of purpose*, and no certain instance of the οὐκ εἴχω ὁ, τι constr. with (so-called) final subjunct., we find the fut. part. in all 17 times. "—" In such a sweeping away of the subjunctive construction we must seek an explanation of a survival as certain as the οὐκ εἴχω ὁ, τι (ὅ) construction appears to be, examined from the point of view of historical syntax. It is here that Goodwin's remark is suggestive, if, instead of saying that the construction in question '*may be explained* by the analogy of' the indirect deliberative, we say that it *is to be explained* from the essential nature of the subjunctive, traced in its development in Homer, and found again, in perhaps still further development, in Attic Greek, as a survival, sometimes obscured and confused by the indirect deliberative, the similar form of which served to prevent it from sharing the fate of its companion relative clauses of purpose. If we put the case in this form (pointing out in our support the triple ambiguity of εἴχων and the ambiguity of ὅστις), we shall, it seems to me, be as near the truth as we are likely to get in so subtle a matter."

[The writer did not make himself responsible for any particular theory of the original meaning of the Greek subjunctive. He does not, however, wish himself to be considered as favouring the putting on the same footing, though they may both for convenience' sake be classed as "final," of such subjunctives as those which are discussed above, and the final subjunctive developed from the independent hortatory subjunctive. Cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 1232, with Soph. *Antig.* 1322 sq., 1184 sq.]

SOME REMARKS ON THE MOODS OF WILL IN GREEK.¹

In the imperative—the mood of command—the issuer of the command, the speaker, is always distinct from the grammatical subject. Commands imply superiority on the part of the speaker. But let the speaker be one of a body the members of which act, or are to act, together: in urging to action the speaker will be urging to joint action, he will include himself with the others, he will use the first pers. pl. The resultant verbal form will be the first pers.

¹ [From the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXV, (1894 : special session), pp. 1-li.)

pl. of the subjunctive. In the case of this "hortative subjunctive" as in that of the imperative, it is the speaker that urges to action; the grammatical subject (in this case including the speaker) is to carry out the action. Exhortation addressed to oneself takes the form of the first sing. of the subjunctive. In exhortation the attitude of the speaker is one of confidence: he is, to a certain extent, the leader. But let an element of hesitation or uncertainty enter the exhorter's mind and instead of an exhortation we shall have an appeal. This will take the interrogative form. Thus: *ἴωμεν* "let us go"? *ἴωμεν* "wilt thou (will ye) that we go?" (That such is the meaning that the Greeks attached to the interrogative expression is shown by the prefixing of *βούλει* [*βούλεσθε*] and *θέλεις* [*θέλετε*]. This is not a case of parataxis proper. We might fairly term the prefixed verb a *verbal preposition*.) In the exhortation the speaker constitutes himself, to a certain extent, a leader; in the appeal he defers to the will of others, and, in so far, constitutes himself a subordinate. This element of subordination leads to the wider use of the subjunctive in appeals to persons not included in the grammatical subject, whether such persons be human superiors or supernatural entities (gods, fate, &c.). I have chosen to treat the extended appeal in its interrogative form, as more obviously evolved: but the exhortation is similarly extended. (I use the term "appeal" to cover both.) So it comes, at length, that the imperative is the mood of the ruler, the subjunctive that of the "man under authority." From logical the subjunctive passes to grammatical subordination. (In *Od.* 5, 465 the construction is simply a formal extension of the appeal. Both in this passage and its parallel, *Il.* 11, 404, *Odysseus* appeals to his *θυμός*. The context is against Professor Hale's interpretation [*Anticip. Subjunctive*, p. 13].)—The appeal may be more or less abject: yet the form of expression remains the same. The attitude of the speaker is thus dwelt upon in order to draw attention to the fact that in the subjunctive *the will of the speaker is always conditioned*. He desires, he strives, he urges, he appeals; but he is always limited in his action by some one or something external. He is always conscious of an obstacle. *He is never consciously free*. I would, therefore, call the subjunctive the mood of *trammelled effort*.—The reflex of trammelled effort might well be an expression of resignation—naturally negative. Thus *ἴωμεν* "let us go," *μή*

ἴωμεν "let us not go"; but οὐκ ἴωμεν "we shall not go." This may explain Il. i, 262. Should we resort here to the familiar Greek device of emphasizing the negation by making it a separate sentence, we should expand this passage to οὐ γάρ πω—οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅπως ἴδωμαι. We shall thus have traced to its origin a form of expression that has given much trouble. For a different view cf. Professor W. G. Hale's valuable *Extended and "Remote" Deliberatives in Greek* [Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc., Vol. XXIV.] and *The Anticipatory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin* [Stud. in Class. Philol. of the Univ. of Chicago, Vol. I.]. In the former of these treatises Mr Hale has proved (as I cheerfully concede) that the attempt made by others (and by myself) to bring οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως with the subjunctive into the category of "final" constructions (in the generally accepted meaning of that term) rests on no sound basis. The thanks of scholars are due to Mr Hale for putting the case in clearer light. But I cannot draw the sharp line that he does between what he calls the "volitive," I the "hortative" and "deliberative" or the "mood of trammelled effort," on the one hand, and what he would call the "prospective" subjunctive, I (tentatively) the "mood of resignation or resigned effort," on the other. Nor can I think that the "final" subjunctive is not a development of the subjunctive on its stronger rather than on its weaker side. The wide range of meaning in the subjunctive makes it impossible to subdivide it certainly without some external sign. That this is to be found in the ἄν of subordinate clauses I cannot concede.—The optative is also a mood of trammelled effort, like the subjunctive. It starts as a prayer to a superhuman power, declines to a wish (a prayer with the god left out), then to an expression of inclination, then to one of concession or resignation. The weakened opt. with οὐ instead of μή and with ἄν in Att. Gk., bears traces of the wish (paraphrased by βουλοίμην ἄν w. inf.) and of the inclination (paraphrased by ἡδέως ἄν w. opt.), while the feeling that the action of the verb is possible under conditions (the condition being indicated by ἄν as in the case of the corresponding subj.) is brought out clearly when we have a paraphrase in the form δυναίμην ἄν w. inf. The opt. appears from the start as logically dependent or contingent, as an appeal to the will of the gods. (A careful analysis of the meanings of the opt. according to the grammatical persons might be of value.)—If what has

been said of the attitude of the speaker in the case of the subjunct. be true, that mood could not be that by which "the earliest expression of the will of the speaker for his own act, *i. e.*, the statement of resolve" (= Eng. "I will") was made, as Mr Hale affirms (*Anticip. Subjunct.*, p. 14). The subjunct. is the mood not of "willing" but of "shalling," and in Gk. we can trace the same distinction as in Eng. The modal form that expresses the "free will" of the subject (in this case "willer" and grammatical subject are identical as in the Eng. *will*-forms) is the so-called "future indicative." This fact we find brought out frequently by a paraphrase of the future after *εἰ* consisting of *βούλομαι* or *θέλω* with the inf. The special "modal" force of the *εἰ* protasis, which has been so admirably brought out by Professor Gildersleeve, seems most readily explained in this way.

OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN RELATIVE CLAUSES AFTER *οὐκ ἔστιν* AND ITS KIN.¹

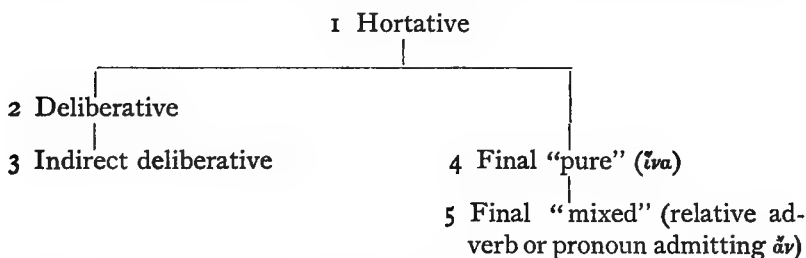
In the last volume (VII.) of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* the first place (pp. 1-12) is occupied by an article by Professor William W. Goodwin entitled *On the Extent of the Deliberative Construction in Relative Clauses in Greek*. This paper reviews in part the discussion started by Mr Arthur Sidgwick in the *Classical Review* of April, 1891, and also sets forth Mr Goodwin's latest view of the matter. I have been prompted to write what follows by the fact that Mr Goodwin takes no notice of a theory broached by me in *Some Remarks on the Moods of Will in Greek* which appeared in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1895 (vol. XXVI., *Proceedings of the Special Session*, 1894, pp. 1-11.)² but credits me with a view of the subject of the discussion that I have expressly abandoned. It is with a certain hesitation and regret that I thus express my disagreement on an important matter of Greek syntax with one to whom I—like so many others—owe the first impulse to the study of Greek syntax; but I venture to do so at once in justice to myself and with a desire to contribute to the ascertainment of truth in regard to the debated

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. X (1896), pp. 421-424.]

² [See last article.]

construction. I begin with a brief discussion of certain of Mr Goodwin's statements.

At p. 1 Professor Goodwin speaks of the clauses in question as seeming 'to lie in the borderland between indirect deliberative questions and final relative clauses.' Now both the indirect deliberative question and the final relative clause are 'subjunctive' developments of the primitive 'hortative.' Thus the 'hortative' *ἴωμεν* *let's go*—I use the colloquial form to distinguish the exhortation from the appeal—becomes, when treated as an interrogation, *ἴωμεν*; *shall we go?* in which the question is put (and this is to be emphasized) to the subject of the verbal form minus *ἐγώ*, the action being at the same time conceived as to be performed by the entire subject, *ἡμεῖς*. This interrogative *ἴωμεν*; may, of course, be subordinated (indirect deliberative question). The 'final' clause, whether of the *ἵνα* type or of the relative pronominal type, subordinates, or makes a 'subjunctive' properly so-called, of *ἴωμεν* *let's go*. The pedigree of the divergent uses of the same verbal form may be indicated thus:



Mr Goodwin's 'borderland' lies between 3 and 5 and is, as appears in his subsequent discussion, a territory of analogy—whether true or false is beside the question.

I have been at pains thus plainly to set forth the genealogy of these uses because some of the disagreement among those that have engaged in the discussion I conceive to be due to the disregarding or ignoring of the steps in the development of the several uses of what we call collectively the subjunctive. That I have been guilty of the fault of which I venture to accuse others I have elsewhere (*Transactions* 1895, *loc. cit.*) admitted; and I here again concede that in claiming that I was in error in seeking to derive the form of clause in question from the relative clause of purpose Mr. Hale is entirely in the right—, and that too although I do not admit the

truth of all that Mr Hale has said in his 'Extended' and 'Remote' *Deliberatives in Greek* in refutation of my former position. But it is not my intention to deal now (if ever; for we differ, e.g., *toto caelo* in our understanding of the primitive force of the subjunctive) with Mr Hale's arguments. It is, after all, of little moment in the case at issue to discuss the legitimacy of the steps by which the falsity of a position that one has taken up has been shown, if one but admit the falsity. But to return to Mr Goodwin's paper.

At p. 2 Mr Goodwin gives as types of the construction in question the following:

ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν, Isocr. iv. 44.

οὐκ ἔχω σόφισμ' ὅτ' ἀπαλλαγῶ, Aesch. *Prom.* 470.

οὐδένα εἶχον, ὅστις ἐπιστολὰς πέμψει, Eur. *I. T.* 588.

I may be pardoned if I anticipate the statement of my own theory so far as to call attention to the fact that Mr Goodwin gives here only clauses dependent upon a form of ἔχειν and none that depend upon a form of εἶναι; for it is at this point that we part company.

At p. 3 Mr Goodwin says: 'It is generally admitted—that the same deliberative interrogative may follow οὐκ ἔχω in the sense of ἀπορῶ, as in οὐκ ἔχω ὃ τι εἶπω, *I have nothing to say*; where, however, the English translation is misleading, the literal meaning being *I have not* (i. e. *I am at a loss*) *what I shall say*. That ὃ τι is really interrogative here is plain from cases like οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω, *I have nothing to say*, Dem. ix. 45; οὐκ ἔχω τί φῶ, Aesch. *Cho.* 91 and οὐκ ἔχω ἐπὶ τίνα μηλοθύταν πορευθῶ, Eur. *Alc.* 120; and this appears in the Latin *non habeo quid* (or *quod*) *dicam*.' Here I cannot but think that he falls into error. Although Mr Hale seems more than inclined (*Transactions Am. Philol. Assoc.* 1893, p. 161 sq.) to call me to task for assuming that the ambiguity of ἔχειν (*have, know, be able*—the last meaning playing no part in the present discussion) and of ὅστις (ὅς + τις and also—according to Greek feeling, I am more than inclined to think—ὅς + τίς; = τίς; in indirect questions) has been ignored, I cannot but think that what I wrote then (*Class. Rev.* 1892, p. 94)¹ was fairly justified. Does not the fact that the simple interrogative does not (certainly) appear in any of the examples of the construction in question, whereas the compound ὅστις or the simple ὅς is used in the debated construction (though also in the indirect interrogative clause), shew

¹[See above, p. 213.]

that the Greeks distinguished, to a certain and very considerable extent, between the meanings *have* and *know* in ἔχειν? Mr Goodwin's translation of οὐκ ἔχω ὃ τι εἶπω, when οὐκ ἔχω = ἀπορῶ, should not, I must believe, be "I have nothing to say" but *I have no knowledge what I am to say*. The same remark applies to οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. For a similar reason it appears wrong to state the Latin form as if *quod* were a mere variant of *quid*.

Mr Goodwin is hardly fair to himself when he speaks of his 'uninstructed mind' (p. 3). The seemingly spontaneous feeling of a mind fit for and trained to the consideration of niceties of expression may be nearer right than the δεύτεραι φροντίδες. I am sorry that Mr Goodwin regrets my 'bringing up in judgment against him' his note of 1863; but then he has brought up in judgment against me opinions that I have expressly modified (*Transactions*, 1895, *loc. cit.*).

I should anticipate too much of my own theory (only a restatement, after all), were I to take up the affirmative forms ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν etc. at this point. Their explanation follows from, or better, goes hand in hand with that of the negative form.

The example from Plato's *Ion* (discussed pp. 3 and 4) proves what the forms of expression used in the debated construction prove elsewhere, viz. that the Greeks did not hold the relative and the interrogative sharply asunder at all stages of their development. It does not prove that the two expressions are to be explained as steps in one and the same course of development. Secondary contamination does not prove primary community of source.

I need hardly say in respect of the second paragraph on p. 4 that I deny Mr. Goodwin's major premiss that ὃ τι δῶ in the passage in the *Anabasis* is an interrogative clause.

The paragraph beginning 'We have thus come' (p. 4) seems to bring some distant hope of a nearer agreement; for Mr Goodwin here appeals to the force of the independent interrogative ἔλθωμεν; as the interrogative of the independent hortative ἔλθωμεν.

At p. 6 Mr Goodwin at length gives what it could be wished that he had given earlier, examples of the debated construction dependent upon a form of εἶναι (*Eur. Orest.* 722 etc.). Curiously, as it seems to me, he treats this formula as a development of the ἔχειν formula, not *vice versa*.

At the same page Mr Goodwin concludes his discussion of the subjunctive *per se* by giving his formal approval to the term 'extended deliberative.' Inasmuch as his subsequent treatment of the optative is directly dependent on his treatment of the subjunctive, I may be permitted to set forth here what I venture to believe to be the true explanation of the construction under discussion,—an explanation at which I have already¹ more than hinted.² This brings us back at once to genealogy.

It seems but fair to take as the primitive use of the subjunctive (using the term in its commonly accepted wide sense) that which is simplest and which has best stood the test of time in independent use, viz. the 'hortative.' *ἴωμεν* *let's go* and *μὴ ἴωμεν* *let's not go*

¹[See last article.]

²I venture to add here in the form of a foot-note remarks on one or two points in Professor Goodwin's treatment of the optative in his paper.

In *Class. Rev.* 1893, p. 451^a, I have offered an explanation based on analogy—and which I still believe to be correct—of the opt. in *Soph. Trach.* 903.—In *Ar. Ran.* 97 why should *λάκοι* not be treated like *πέμψει* in *Eur. I.T.* 588? The one verb 'expresses purpose' just as 'clearly'—or *unclearly*—as the other. The *φθέγγεται* in the next verse is not unnatural. We pass from a *should* (for a *shall*) *utter* to a more independent *will utter*. Thus the optative would be due to attraction or assimilation.—Inasmuch as *μέλλοι βοηθήσειν* (p. 9)=*βοηθήσοι*, it were better treated simply as a *μέλλει βοηθήσειν* that has turned optative by assimilation, just as a *βοηθήσει* might.—After what Mr Goodwin says about 'a distinct conditional force' in the example just alluded to I will not venture to discuss the reference to my own attitude of mind that he makes in the footnote on p. 10. Our points of view are too widely separate.—It need hardly be said that in discussing *Soph. Phil.* 270-282 I believe Mr Jebb to have gone too far back when he says that the dependent optatives here represent direct questions (*τίς ἀρέσῃ*; and *τίς συλλάβηται*;). In my view they should rather be treated as optative mutations of *οὕτως ἀρέσῃ* and *οὕτως συλλάβηται* in analytic form.—With Mr Goodwin's remark (p. 11) that 'the difference between *δρῶν οὐδένα δοῦναι ἀρέσῃ* and *ἔχων οὐδένα δοῦναι ἀρέσῃ* is surely not generic; etc. (to the end of the sentence) I am in complete accord.—Is not Mr Goodwin's remark (p. 12) that 'the aorist optative in *Dem. vi.* 8 seems to come from a tendency to use an optative after the preceding optative and an objection to using the future' somewhat (*mea quidem opinione*, in principle) at variance with what he says in the first paragraph of the foot-note to p. 10?—I may be pardoned if I add that I have (or rather, had) 'considered carefully Gildersleeve's wise and acute remarks' (see foot-note p. 10) and that I too regard his formula *δπως ἀν=ἦν πως* as 'a powerful solvent.'

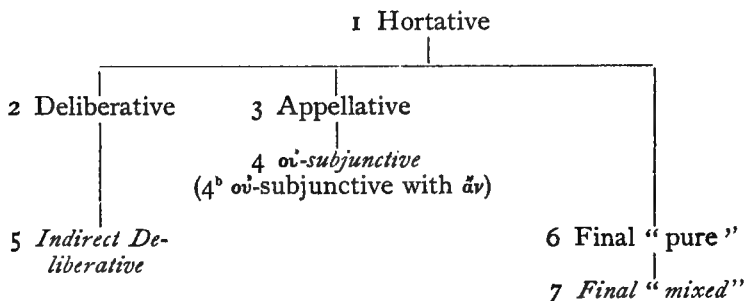
^a[See p. 28.]

with their corresponding interrogative use (the 'deliberative') form, as is generally admitted, the basis of many (at least) of the dependent uses of the subjunctive, or, as may well be said, the basis of the 'subjunctive.' But there is another independent use of the verbal type which ἴωμεν represents besides the 'hortative' and the 'deliberative'—a use which corresponds to our English *shall*-future. The negative in this case is οὐ not μή and the first example is at *Il.* A 262. This usage may be explained as derived from the 'hortative': but there is apparently an intermediate step. In the hortative the subject of the verbal form includes the person or persons addressed by the speaker. So too, when the 'hortative' is used in the singular in communion with one's self. But both the 'hortative' and the 'deliberative' may become, not unnaturally, an 'appellative,' the person or persons addressed being conceived as entirely apart from and external to the subject of the verbal form.

The answer to the 'hortative' is expressed in terms of the 'hortative'; that is to say, either it is a mere echo, if the will of the persons addressed coincide with that of the speaker; or it is the contradictory of the form used by the speaker, if the will of those to whom he addresses himself be adverse. In the case of the 'appellative,' however, the answer is expressed in terms of the imperative. But besides the answer to the appeal we have to consider what I have elsewhere called a 'reflex,' *i.e.* the verbal expression of the impression that the result of the appeal leaves upon the mind of the appellant. At the place just referred to (*Transactions*, 1895, p. li.), after characterizing the subjunctive in general as 'the mood of trammelled effort'—a term of which, it may be added, I believe Mr Hale approves, I have said: 'the reflex of trammelled effort might well be an expression of resignation—naturally negative. This may explain *Il.* I, 262.' [Of course, the positive 'reflex,' equally possible, would express what one is to do under the authority or control of persons or circumstances.] 'Should we resort here to the familiar Greek device of emphasizing the negation by making it a separate sentence, we should expand this passage to οὐ γάρ πω—οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅπως ἴδωμαι. We shall thus have traced to its origin a form of expression that has given much trouble.' This view of the construction in question I still hold, although I use the term appeal to cover the interrogative form as well as that used in

the illustration that I have employed in the passage just quoted. This 'οὐ-subjunctive,' to give it its conventional name, may take ἄν like the 'οὐ-optative.' (How far this use of the particle with the 'οὐ-subjunctive' may have affected, if at all, the subjunctive in 'relative final clauses' is a question that no man can answer. A certain amount of contamination is, of course, possible.)

I would now draw up another pedigree, thus:—



The theory that I have abandoned would derive the subjunctive in the clause dependent on οὐκ ἔστιν (οὐκ ἔστι μοι, οὐκ ἔχω: for so I would evolve the common form of the introductory sentence) from 7; the theory of Mr Hale accepted by Mr Goodwin would derive it from 5; the theory held here and in the *Transactions* for 1895, would derive it from 4. I may add, without in any way abandoning my position, that the persistence in Attic Greek of this derivative of 4 at the expense of the derivative of 4b (with ἄν) may be explained by the formal influence of 5 upon 4.

Though Mr Goodwin has not in the paper that I have just examined treated the optative without ἄν in relative clauses dependent upon οὐκ ἔστιν and οὐκ ἔχω in the present, I may add that it follows as a corollary from the theory just set forth in respect of the subjunctive that this remarkable optative in Attic Greek is a survival of the οὐ-optative. The noteworthy sequence marks it as archaic and archaistic.

A SUGGESTION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREEK OPTATIVE.¹

The term 'potential' as applied to the optative with ἄν is elastic,

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. XIV (1900), pp. 122-123.]

not to say vague. Strictly speaking, one may venture to think, it should be applied only to that phase of the optative with *ἄν* which is equivalent to the optative of *δύνασθαι* with *ἄν* and the infinitive of the verb in question (*λύοιμι ἄν* = *δυναίμην ἄν λύειν*). Besides this the optative with *ἄν* has often a plain desiderative, or inclinative force, being then equivalent to the optative of *βούλεσθαι* (or *ἐθέλειν*) with *ἄν* and the infinitive of the verb in question, or to itself plus *ἡδέως* (*λύοιμι ἄν* = *βουλοίμην ἄν λύειν*, or *ἡδέως ἄν λύοιμι*). In other cases a condition, more or less formally expressed, is emphasised, and the optative may be termed 'conditional' or 'contingent.' This use seems readily derivable from the desiderative, or inclinational, use. (Cf. Eng. 'would.') The optative of polite request (*λέγοις ἄν*) seems to have similar affinities, though it differs from the optative of inclination, in that the inclination or desire is that of the speaker, not that of the subject of the verbal form. The change from the first to the second person, as well as linguistic parsimony, is responsible for this shift. Thus *λέγοις ἄν* = *βουλοίμην ἄν σε λέγειν*, or *καθ' ἡδονὴν ἄν μοι λέγοις*. (One thinks here of Sophocles *Ant.* 70, where *ἄσμένης* would certainly be an improvement on *ἡδέως*, though *ἡδέως* may be from Sophocles' hand.)

These several uses of the optative with *ἄν*, which correspond to older optatives without *ἄν* (*οὐ*-optatives) in the same senses, are, I venture to think, derivable from certain uses of the *μή*-optative. This does not, of course, imply dissent from the view that the differentiation of the *μή*-optative and the *οὐ*-optative in Greek is proethnic; it means merely that one can trace the process of differentiation in Greek forms alone. (See my remarks on the subjunctive and optative in 'Some Remarks on the Moods of Will in Greek'.¹)

The precative use of the optative may well be taken as its most primitive use. It will appear on a moment's consideration that this belongs primarily to only two persons, the first and the third. Thus, *λάβοιμι (μὴ λάβοιμι)* = *δός μοι λαβεῖν (δός μοι μὴ λαβεῖν)* and *λάβοι (μὴ λάβοι)* = *δός (μοι) αὐτὸν λαβεῖν (μὴ λαβεῖν)*. Thus prayer for oneself and prayer for another are expressed.

The answer to such prayers may conceivably be expressed by

¹ [See above, p. 219.]

λάβοις (οὐ λάβοις) = δίδωμί σοι λαβεῖν (οὐ δίδωμί σοι λαβεῖν) and λάβοι (οὐ λάβοι). The reflex (the answer to the prayer as reported by the recipient of such answer) would take the forms λάβοιμι (οὐ λάβοιμι) and λάβοι (οὐ λάβοι), or in the latter case, if addressed to the person for whom the prayer had been offered, λάβοις (οὐ λάβοις).

The desiderative use of the optative—λύοιμι (οὐ λύοιμι) = βούλομαι (οὐ βούλομαι) λύνειν—will naturally appear (like the future) in all persons. (The peculiar turn given to the second person of the ἄν-optative has been discussed above). Here we have the origin of the optative of inclination in what might be called a secularised prayer.

The reflex of the precative mentioned above—λάβοιμι (οὐ λάβοιμι)—may be regarded as an expression of ability (or inability). Thus λάβοιμι (οὐ λάβοιμι) = δύναμαι λαβεῖν (οὐ δύναμαι λαβεῖν). Here we have the potential optative in the narrower sense indicated above.

The forms βουλοίμην (ἄν) λαβεῖν = λάβοιμι (ἄν) and δυναίμην (ἄν) λαβεῖν = λάβοιμι ἄν, instead of βούλομαι λαβεῖν and δύναμαι λαβεῖν show a natural assimilation. In Attic Greek βούλομαι λαβεῖν and δύναμαι λαβεῖν represent rather λήψομαι.

ANALECTA.¹

Analecta as a book title means "crumbs swept up" (the title that the late T. DeWitt Talmage once gave to a volume of essays). Anyone that chooses to refer to Dr. Murray's English Dictionary will find that the word appears in English in the form *analects* (defined "crumbs which fall from the table") as early as 1623. But if one look up *analecta* in Lewis and Short or the new Thesaurus, he will be informed that the word is a masculine noun Latinised from ἀναλέκτης and that it was the peculiar name of the slave that performed the office described in Hor. S. 2. 8, 11 sq. But if one will refer to Forcellini or Jesner, he will find a neuter *analecta* and may anticipate the brief history that I am about to give of the word as a modern book title.

Martial 7. 20, 16 sq. read with a pause after *analecta* in 16 instead of before it (so that the sense of the verse was supposed to be *analecta et quidquid canes reliquerunt* instead of *quidquid analecta et canes reliquerunt*) combined with Martial 14.81, Scopae, read according to the false text *sed pretium Scopis nunc analecta dabunt*

¹ [From the Latin Leaflet; Vol. V (1904), No. 104.]

instead of *otia sed scopis nunc analecta dedit*)—these passages were the *fons et origo malorum*. On the basis of them, supposed to contain *analecta* in the sense “crumbs swept up”, some person at present unknown to me at some time prior to the year 1623 (as we have already seen) used *analecta* as or in the title of a book. I should like, as a matter of curiosity, to know who that person was; and if any reader of these words can tell me, I shall be grateful. What I am writing is thus, in a sense, an advertisement for a missing person.

It may perhaps be worth while to mention in conclusion that the term *analecta* has been Germanised as *Analekten* (Wolf's *Litterarische Analekten* should be familiar to the reader), that this form is interpreted in Sander's Dictionary by *Lesefrüchte*, and that the well-known author of the *Analecta Euripidea* has also published certain philological crumbs under the title *Lesefrüchte*.

NEPO.¹

In expressing my agreement with Mr. Leaf's view as to the derivation of νερό (*Class. Rev.*, July 1891), I am glad to be able to supply certain information in regard to Romaic the accessibility of which he seems to doubt. That ‘ε is often used for the sound ι’ is stated by Sophocles (*Romaic Grammar*, § 27, 6) and is well known to any one who has been much in Greece. It will be found to occur in combination with a liquid, generally a following ρ, as in γερνάω, αογ. ἐγέρασα (γηράσκω), σίδερο (σίδηρος), θερῶ (θηρίον), κερί (κηρίον), μερί (μηρίον, Sophocles, *σφ. cit.*, vocabulary), μάγερας (μάγειρος), κερνώ (κινῶ, Soph.), σέρνω (σύρνω, σύρω, Soph.); sometimes a preceding ρ as in γκρεμνός (κρημνός) and γκρεμνίζω; κρένω (κρίνω = ἀποκρίνομαι: ‘Τῆς κρένω, δὲ μοῦ κρένει,’ in a popular song, quoted by Byzantios, *Λεξικὸν τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς Ἑλληνικῆς Διαλέκτου*), and perhaps in βαράινω (βαρύνω, Soph.); sometimes a preceding λ, as in πλένω (πλύνω). The only instance I can recall of this change, or retention of an older pronunciation as it were better called in most cases, not in combination with ρ or λ, occurs in δειμοσιῶ (δημοσία ὁδός), quoted to me in Greece as a curiosity. To return to νερό: it may be added that the derivation from νηρόν is supported by the form Νεράϊδες. After all, the question is very largely one of orthography. Mr. Leaf will, I trust, feel in-

¹ [From the *Classical Review*, Vol. VI (1892), p. 73.]

clined to modify somewhat his caustic remark on the Greeks of to-day, if he will consider the great limitations of the Romaic as a vehicle of literature, and especially if he will consult the very faithful, though incomplete presentation of the spoken dialect in the first part of Kondyles' *Γραμματικαὶ τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης*, Athens, 1888.

THREE NOTES ON GREEK SEMASIOLOGY.¹

(1) When substantives in *-τρον* properly denote the instrument of action of the verbs from which they are derived, why are *μήνυτρον* and other substantives in *-τρον* used to express the money paid for performing the action? I believe the solution to be as follows:

The very common substantive *λύτρον* meant properly the instrument or means of loosing (*λύσεως ὄργανον*). But the means of loosing was a sum of money paid by the ransomer to the captor (*λύσεως μισθός*); and this connotational meaning of the suffix in *λύτρον*—a word of vastly common occurrence, it should be insisted on, in the frequent wars of the Greeks—could easily give rise to such words as *μήνυτρον*, meaning not *μηνύσεως ὄργανον*, but *μηνύσεως μισθός*.

(2) A second matter of Semasiology that I would notice here is the connotational meaning of the adjectives in *-ικός*, which frequently mean, not pertaining to such and such a person or thing, but skilled in something. This secondary meaning was, I believe, reflected, so to say, upon these adjectives from their very common substantivised form. The whole process may be simply and clearly put in the following scheme involving two adjectives in *-ικός* of the same form, but with a difference of meaning: *ιατρός* medicus, *ιατρικός* medicinus, *ιατρική* (τέχνη) medicina (ars), *ιατρικός* medicinae peritus.

(3) The third point that I would call attention to here, is the secondary meaning of certain verbs in *-ίζειν*—a meaning which explains the disparaging force that we meet with in some verbs in *-ίζειν*. This is due to a latent reflexive pronoun. Thus *λακωνίζειν* is not to make another a Laconian but to make oneself a Laconian, to imitate or ape the Laconians. In the same way, it would appear, *σοφίζειν*, which properly or ordinarily meant to make another *σοφός*, could be used in the sense of making oneself *σοφός*, of aping the *σοφοί*. It is thus, I think (pace Platonis in Protagora), that we are to explain the good and bad senses of *σοφιστής*, 'teacher' (= *διδάσκαλος*) and 'charlatan' (= *τῶν σοφῶν μιμητής*).

¹ [From the Classical Review, Vol. XXI (1907), p. 14.]

GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY

A SIKYONIAN STATUE.¹

Of the mutilated marble statue found at Sikyon,² some mention has already been made in archaeological publications;³ but no exhaustive discussion has appeared of the qualities of the work and the interesting questions which it suggests.⁴

The statue⁵ represents a nude youth resting upon the left leg and with the back of the left hand upon the hip. A considerable portion of the bent left arm is missing. It was carved from a separate piece of marble, and was attached by metal pins, as is evident from the seven holes, with the trace of an eighth, which appear in the vertically cut surface to which it was secured. About this arm a himation is draped, and it falls, from a point just below the shoulder, in straight folds, with a gradual increase of fullness as it descends. Doubtless it originally reached the base of the statue and served as a support. As such, it is well motivated; for the sharpness of the folds shows that the fabric is of comparatively light

¹ [From the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Series I, Vol. V. (No. 3), pp. 26-37.—Written by Professor Earle in 1889, when he was a member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.]

² *Supplementary Report of the Excavations* (pp. 286-7).

³ *Seventh Annual Report Am. School*, p. 46 (MERRIAM), with a cut from *Scribner's Magazine*, 1888; *Journ. Hell. Studies*, 1888, p. 130 (HARRISON).

⁴ [The plate which accompanies this article was made from a photograph taken by Professor C. H. Young of Columbia University. A cast of the statue is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.]

⁵ The dimensions of the statue in its present condition are as follows: length of face, from roots of hair to end of chin, 0.16 m.; breadth of face, 0.11 m.; measure over face from ear to ear, 0.21 m.; height of forehead, 0.06 m.; length of nose, about 0.055 m.; length of eye, 0.03 m.; of mouth, 0.035 m.; distance of nose from ear, 0.08 m.; tip of lobe of ear below plane of outer angle of eye, 0.03 m.; measure around chin and crown of head, 0.67 m.; around head above curls, 0.56 m.; over breast from arm-pit to arm-pit, 0.34 m.; from throat to navel, 0.33 m.; from navel to pubes, 0.12 m.; between hips, 0.26 m.; around waist, 0.71 m.; from shoulder to shoulder, 0.35 m.; from back of neck to small of back, 0.40 m.; across back from arm-pit to arm-pit, 0.34 m.



STATUE OF DIONYSOS

Unearthed at Sikyon, Greece, in December, 1887,
by Mortimer Lamson Earle.

texture, as can be gathered also from the manner in which it is held, the hand upon the hip supporting easily the bulk of the weight without the appearance, between wrist and arm-pit, of a brooch or clasp to help hold it, such as we find elsewhere in a somewhat similar conception.¹ Thus, the garment was practically a support, artistically a graceful relief to the nude figure. The statue is still further mutilated by the loss of the right arm from a little below the shoulder, the greater portion of the right leg, and somewhat less of the left, with the contiguous drapery. The *membrum virile*, which was not, as very commonly,² carved separately and set in, is broken off; a considerable portion of the left side of the throat is missing, rendering restoration here necessary; and the nose is somewhat mutilated, as well as the curls. The head was broken into three large pieces,³ which were still in contact. The greatest break comes just above the forehead, on the right side of the head, and may be distinguished in the photograph. The right arm was extended, as is shown by the direction of the remaining portion; the motive of this will be considered later in connection with the identification of the statue. The pupils of the eyes were not plastically indicated, but were painted red, and traces of the yellow coloring of the hair were plainly visible just after the unearthing of the head.

The surface of the marble—the provenience of which I am unable to state—is somewhat corroded; but the fine Greek workmanship remains plainly evident; and the finish was most careful in all parts of the statue except the hair, of which more below.

The following questions naturally suggest themselves with refer-

¹ Cf. Hermes in Berlin (*Verzeichniss der ant. Skulpturen*, No. 196); brooch on left shoulder, left hand extended, garment (chlamys) falling around and below left arm; Hermes on Ephesian *columna caelata* (FR.-WOLT., 1242-3, OVERBECK, *Plastik* (⁸), II, p. 97); sequel to preceding motive, chlamys has slipped from shoulder bringing brooch in bend of left arm (left hand on hip). In connection with this last figure, it may be mentioned that, in attitude, it corresponds very closely with the figure of an athlete in an Attic relief of the fourth cent. B. C. figured in the *Annali*, 1862, *tav. d'agg. M.* (text by MICHAELIS, *ib.* pp. 208-16).

² Cf. Berlin originals, *Verzeichn.*, Nos. 258, 259 (Satyrs of "Periboëtos" type), FR.-WOLT., No. 1578 (Eros of Centocelle), *etc.*

³ Two small fragments filling fractures in the curls were also found; now probably lost.

ence to our statue: *first*, whether it represents a god or a man; *second*, if the former, what god is represented; *third*, what motives known to the history of Greek sculpture does the work embody; *fourth*, to what age of Greek sculpture is it to be referred, to what school, and, perchance, to what artist.

As regards the first question, there can scarcely be a doubt that we have before us the statue of a god. A consideration of the whole form and character of the work precludes the supposition that the artist was elaborating portraiture of any sort. There are no features of actual human personality; on the contrary, the whole is pervaded with the spirit of ideality. Nor can it be considered an ideal athlete or ephebe portrait; for neither is the muscular development such as to warrant this opinion, nor is the pose that of an athlete: one of the most characteristic features—though not adequately rendered in the photograph—is a plump fullness and a heavy sensuous droop about the region of the loins that show a far different character. The body is languid, and far more suggestive of soft, seductive ease than of the *palma nobilis*: in fact, I can find no better expression of the whole spirit and character of the body than the admirable words in which Overbeck¹ describes the Praxitelean satyr-type: *Zu ringen und zu kämpfen oder selbst zu einem eilenden Botengange würde dieser Satyrkörper nicht taugen, für ihn passt nur das freie Umherstreifen, ein Tanz mit den Nymphen oder diese behäbige Ruhe, die wir vor uns sehn und welche ihn von oben bis unten durchdringt und selbst für den Arm auf die Hüfte einen Stützpunkt suchen lässt.* Attention should also here be called to the fullness of the breasts and the distinctly feminine form of the shoulders, to which further reference will be made. It is not, however, to be assumed, from the implied comparison with the Praxitelean satyr, that we have before us a type intermediate between god and man. The expression of the features, though sensuous, is yet lofty and ideal. It is plain, then, that it is the statue of a god; and let us attempt to answer the question, What god is represented?

The opinion that we have here a Dionysos was broached in the first instance by M. Kabbadias; indeed, he made his assumption before it had been demonstrated that head and torso were parts of

¹ *Plastik* (*), II, p. 42.

the same statue. To this he appears to have been led by a certain likeness to the so-called Ariadne head.¹ It seems proper to refer here to this designation, inasmuch as it was made public at the time in the daily *Ἐφημερίς* of Athens, and was followed in a brief report on the excavations at Sikyon, published in the New York Evening Post in 1888. It is also accepted as probable by Miss Harrison,² while Professor Merriam³ left the question an open one by describing the statue simply as "a naked male figure of pronounced feminine type." Allowing this assumption to rest for the present, let us seek to gain firmer ground by a process of elimination. Considerable stress should be laid upon the feminine forms of our statue, particularly the breasts and the shoulders. Such shoulders appear in statues of Apollo, Dionysos, Eros, and (rarely) Hermes.⁴ An identification with Hermes is to be excluded, inasmuch as there is not a hint of the swift messenger of the gods, nothing of the lightness and lithe ephebic or mellephebic vigor which characterizes the youthful Hermes type. Eros also must be stricken from the list; for there is in our statue no trace of wings, which are required in an Eros,⁵ to say nothing of the greater boyishness of most of the types of Eros.

We have then to decide between Apollo and Dionysos—a task by no means easy. The statues of the youthful Apollo exhibit a boy

¹ See FR.-WOLT., No. 1490, for data in regard to this head.

² *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, *ut supra*.

³ *Seventh Ann. Report Am. School*, *ut supra*.

⁴ Cf. the Florence statue (FR.-WOLT., No. 1534). I am unable at present to give another instance. Even in this figure there is a plump firmness about the shoulders distinctly at variance with our statue.

⁵ On this question, see FURTWÄNGLER (*ap. ROSCHER*, art. *Eros*, p. 1350): *Von Anfang an erscheint Eros als Knabe oder Mellephebe gebildet und mit Flügeln ausgerüstet*. Particularly also the following: *Ungeflügelte Bildung des Eros ist nirgends als beabsichtigt, sondern nur aus Nachlässigkeit entstanden und zwar namentlich in spätrömischer Zeit zu konstatieren, wo man die Flügel bei bekannten Typen zuweilen auch an Statuen aus Bequemlichkeit wegliess* (l. c., p. 1369). We have, of course, in the present instance nothing either *nachlässig* or *spätrömische*; as wingless, may be mentioned the St. Petersburg torso (FR.-W., 217), a replica of the same original as the Sparta torso (FR.-W., No. 218), which latter shows evident traces of wings. Cf. also the wingless group in Berlin (*Verz.* 150) to which the designation *Eros und Psyche*(?) is given and favored, *obwohl das übrigens nicht gerade unerlässliche Abzeichen der Flügel den Figuren fehlt*.

of graceful and agile form, with an inherent capacity for action, as in the Sauroktonos.¹ On the contrary, we find in our statue an inertia, a fleshiness about the body, not marked enough to be in any wise gross, and yet plainly and skilfully suggested. We have this much, then, to urge in favor of the identification with Dionysos; and we can find still further support for it. The statue was found in the theatre, which was consecrated to Dionysos, who had moreover at Sikyon a temple in the immediate vicinity—*μετὰ τὸ θέατρον*, in the words of Pausanias. This argument, while of some value as corroborative testimony, is worth but little *per se*, for we find a statue of Apollo in the great theatre of Dionysos at Athens.²

But it may here be urged, in favor of the identification as Apollo, that the face of our statue has an expression too lofty and intellectual for the youthful Dionysos. This objection may be satisfactorily answered, if we consider on what it chiefly rests, namely, the high forehead. For the mouth, though not broad as in Satyr-faces, will be found full and sensuous, while the cheeks and chin sink so softly into the unusually full throat that the uncommon heaviness here strikes one immediately when the statue is viewed in profile. Furthermore, a high forehead is precisely what we find in Seilenoi and Satyrs;³ and the apparent lowness of the brow in many statues of Dionysos is due to the arrangement of the hair or to the head-band across the upper part of the forehead, while the

¹ Cf. BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäl., s. v. Apollon*, p. 95 sqq.; especially p. 98, where we read: *Die grosse Menge der sonst erhaltenen Apollonstatuen geben den Charakter wieder, welchen Praxiteles seinem Sauroktonos aufgeprägt hatte: eines Epheben von schlanker Bildung, Kraft und Zartheit der Glieder vereinigend, zwischen Hermes und Dionysos die Mitte haltend.* Cf. the remark of FURTWÄNGLER (*ap. ROSCHER*, p. 467): *Die Körperformen [des Apoll] sind regelmässig sehr jugendlich und weich, oft denen des Dionysos sich nährend.* I am well aware that it is frequently difficult to distinguish mutilated statues of Dionysos from those of Apollo, and the attempted restorations are frequently dubious: cf. BRUNN, *Beschreib. der Glyptothek*, Nos. 97, 103. Examples might be multiplied.

² Cf. on this subject SCHREIBER (*Mittheilungen Athen.*, ix, p. 248), whose arguments against Waldstein's athlete hypothesis seem convincing. He would make the familiar Athenian figure an original by Kallimachos the *καταργήτρεχνος*. The statue, according to him, is that of Apollo Daphnephoros, the chair of whose priest we find in the theatre: cf. *ut supra*.

³ Cf. the *ἀποσκορεύων* (FR.-W., No. 1429). The comparison of Sokrates with his high forehead to a Seilenos is well known.

height of forehead is noticeable only in those statues of Apollo which exhibit some such arrangement of hair about the face as in our figure.¹ We have, also, a noteworthy instance of a sweet femininity and quite as much intellectuality in a head in the Berlin Museum,² which was at first, like the Sikyonian, assumed to be that of a female, but has been unhesitatingly declared to be a Dionysos by an authority so competent as Furtwängler.

We have next to consider what Greek sculptural motives the statue embodies: (1) the general pose of the body and legs; (2) the evident motive of the left arm; (3) the probable motive of the lost right arm; (4) the head and arrangement of hair.

As regards the pose, we observe that the weight of the body rests on the left leg, and that there is a corresponding graceful sway in the hips and loins. As is admitted, on the testimony of Pliny³ and the evidence of replicas of the Doryphoros and other statues, Polykleitos was the first to introduce into Greek sculpture the distinction which is well described by the German terms *Standbein* and *Spielbein*—the leg on which the weight of the body rests and that which is free to pose in any one of several graceful attitudes. Praxiteles added a graceful sweep and curve of the body, giving to it, as a whole, a sort of S-shape. This is admirably exemplified in the Olympian Hermes. The Praxitelean type is at once evident in our Sikyonian statue, and that, too, not as a novelty but as part of the common stock of artistic tradition.

Concerning the left arm there are several points to consider. The left hand supported on the hip is noted as a favorite motive with Praxiteles, though it may have had an earlier origin. It is easily

¹ Cf. the so-called Ariadne head (Fr.-W., No. 1490). Many statues of Dionysos have low brows, but the same is true of heads of Apollo: cf. the Belvedere and Apollino, with the high forehead (fourth century type), with Fr.-WOLT., Nos. 222-4.

² *Verz.*, No. 118; FURTWÄNGLER, *Sammlung Sabouroff, Tafel XXIII. Gefunden zu Athen beim Lykabettos. Höhe 0,24. Gesichtslänge 0,12.—Pentelischer Marmor* (FURTWÄNGLER, *l. c.*, Note 1 under text). The marked femininity of the face, the sweetness of expression and the high forehead are points of comparison with our statue which at once struck me. *Wir haben hier*, says Furtwängler, *einen ganz unversehrten, etwas unterlebensgrossen Dionysoskopf vor uns, der aus einem attischen Atelier der Zeit des Praxiteles selbst stammt.*

³ *HN*, xxxiv. 56; cf. OVERBECK, *Schriftquellen*, No. 967.

demonstrable that the resting of the left hand on the hip may be so motivated as to express more than one artistic idea. Let us take, for example, a satyr-statue of the Periboëtos type (*e. g.*, Berlin originals Nos. 258, 259; Overbeck, *Plastik* ⁽³⁾, II, p. 41). Here we see the back of the left hand resting softly against the side, rather below the hip: this, together with the graceful and delicate pose of the whole figure, may fairly be considered as the fully developed Praxitelean motive. This is essentially the position of the hand in our Sikyonian statue, though here there is a fuller and firmer resting of the back of the hand against the side, which, in a draped statue of an elderly man, would give an air of dignified composure. If the motive were that in which the back of the hand is turned outward and the knuckles rest firmly against the side, there would be a greater sturdiness, a certain holding of force in reserve, particularly when accompanied by a firmer pose of the whole body.¹ The same may be said of the position of the hand with the fingers extended forward, the thumb behind, to us perhaps the most common and natural of these attitudes.

It is essential here to give in historical sequence a brief list of instances of the left hand supported against the side more or less in the manner of the Sikyonian statue. From the Parthenon we have the following: (1) Standing semi-draped male figure on w. frieze (Michaelis, 9. I. 1); in which the left hand rests rather below and somewhat behind hip: *cf.* Carrey's drawing *ap.* Michaelis. (2) Standing male figure on E. frieze (Michaelis, 14, III, 19), back of left hand on hip, staff under right arm, also draped. Together with these may be grouped a number of Attic reliefs in which the traces of Pheidian art are evident. I give the numbering of the casts *ap.* Friederichs-Wolters. (3) Standing figure of Asklepios (Fr.-W., No. 1070), the familiar draped type resting on staff with left hand concealed in garment and supported on hip. Such figures

¹ It is instructive to observe the effect of the supporting of the right hand upon the side (in the instance about to be cited, fingers outward in plain view, thumb behind) in the figure of Pelops from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. *Cf.* Fr.-W., p. 125: *Nicht ohne Absicht scheint für ihn der Künstler die selbstbewusste, fast trotzige Haltung gewählt zu haben: den Kopf etwas zurückgeworfen, die Hand in die Seite gestemmt, steht er seines Sieges bewusst da.* A somewhat similar attitude in a nude Poseidon statuette is described (Fr.-W., No. 1763) as *mehr energisch als stolz.*

have a close likeness to that cited above from the E. frieze of the Parthenon.¹ As Overbeck (*Plastik* ⁽³⁾, I, pp. 274, 279) has no hesitation in deriving the seated statues of Asklepios (cult-statues), whether through Alkamenes or Kolotes, from the Zeus of Pheidias; so we may claim the standing figures of Asklepios on the reliefs as Attic and Pheidian, in view particularly of the Parthenon figure alluded to above. Similar figures are Fr.-Wolt., Nos. 1085, 1196. It is not always possible to determine whether the back of the hand rests on the hip or whether the doubled hand holding a portion of the robe rests the knuckles upon the hip. This latter posture in connection with a more erect position of body, necessitating the firmer holding of the robe, is expressive of sturdier dignity. This position of the hand we have clearly in the Berlin statue *Verzeich.*, No. 71, and apparently in the fine statue of Sophokles in the Lateran (Fr.-Wolt., No. 1307). For left hand on hip, *cf.*, also, Fr.-Wolt., Nos. 1085, 1147, 1150, 1151, 1161, 1195, 1196, 1445. To these should be added, as Praxitelean, the Periboëtos satyrs (*e. g.*, Berlin *Verz.*, Nos. 258, 259); the Hermes of the *columna caelata* (Overbeck, *Plastik* ⁽³⁾, II, 97; Fr.-Wolt., Nos. 1242-3); an athlete in an Athenian relief previously cited (*Annali*, 1862, *tav. M*). An archaistic Hermes on the "Altar of the Twelve Gods" in the Louvre (Fr.-Wolt., No. 422) stands stiffly with left hand on hip. A standing figure of Ammon from Pergamon may be added—a draped figure with left hand on hip, reminding one strongly of Attic work.

In the preceding list we have either Attic works or at least Attic types. Since it appears already in Pheidian art, it is plain that the motive in question in its more general aspect cannot be called Praxitelean; but there seems no just ground for refusing it this title, when it appears as developed in the more restricted type of the fourth century, and as applied to nude or nearly nude youthful male statues.

As regards the right arm, it is evident from the remaining portion that it was at least somewhat extended; and, in consonance with the rest of the figure, it may most readily be assumed that it was supported upon an object of some height. If the figure is Dionysos, this object may with great probability have been the familiar thyrsus. An interesting comparison may here be made between

¹ *Cf.* FR.-WOLT., pp. 327, 328, for some remarks on the connection between such reliefs from Parthenon and other sculptures.

our statue and a relief on one side of a white marble disk in Berlin (*Verz.*, No. 1042), found at Gabii, thus described: *in flacherem Relief und flüchtiger ausgeführt die stehende Figur des jungen Dionysos in Chiton [?] und Umwurf [Himation], auf einen Stab (Thyrsos) gelehnt; auf Felsen neben ihm brennt eine Flamme. Römische Arbeit.* The figure looks toward the spectator's right and somewhat downward; the left hand is supported on the hip, the hair seems to be gathered in a knot on the back of the neck, the right arm is bent sharply at the elbow and the hand, held high, grasps the thyrsus; the weight of the body rests on the left leg, the right is bent in the same manner as the left leg of the Ephesian Hermes. The points in common with the Sikyonian statue are the following: (1) left hand on hip; (2) weight on left leg; (3) right arm raised; (4) garment (himation) over left arm—although in the disk figure it is draped over the left shoulder, and, leaving the left elbow bare, falls in front of the left arm as far as the knee, being then brought around behind the figure and looped from before over the bent right arm. It seems not improbable that the Roman disk figure goes back to a much earlier Greek original; and one is reminded of the Dionysos by Eutychides in the house of Asinius Pollio.¹ The comparison affords us, at all events, an interesting parallel; and, aside from this, the thyrsus seems the most natural explanation for the position of the right arm in our statue.

As regards the position of the head, I fancied I could detect, in the inclination toward the right with the gaze turned toward the left, something borrowed from the Alexander type, which is undoubtedly due to Lysippos.² But if there is just reason for this conjecture, the motive is here merely hinted at; it is already an artistic commonplace of the post-Lysippian epoch. But we have particularly to notice the free handling of the hair, reminding in a measure of the heads of Alexander, in which we have, as in the Sikyonian statue, a simple arrangement of the locks, which are drawn down from the crown of the head and curl freely upward over the forehead and temples, falling somewhat lower on the neck

¹ OVERBECK, *Plastik* (⁸), II, 135.

² On this subject, cf. BAUMEISTER, *Denkm.*, s. v., *Alexandros*, and particularly EMERSON in *Am. Journ. Arch.*, vol. II, pp. 408-13; vol. III, pp. 243-60. Cf. OVERBECK, *Plastik* (⁸), II, p. 110 *sqq.*, in regard to portraits of Alexander by Lysippos.

behind.¹ This, so far as I am aware, we do not observe in the Praxitelean types and can hardly date earlier than Lysippos, to whom, indeed, it seems attributable. It is the germ of the treatment in later types, such as the Pergamene figures, where we see the hair, as in the Laocoön and the busts of Zeus, rising in a sort of halo about the head and face. The conception of this arrangement may, of course, be sought earlier. We have, in a diskobolos of Attic type² and in the Eubuleus of Praxiteles, ephebic figures in which the short hair is secured simply by a band or fillet, in strong contrast with the Attic *krobylos*³ in vogue till the middle of the fifth century B. C., though scarcely appearing on the Parthenon.⁴ In our statue, the hair behind and above the line of curls exhibits very rough and superficial workmanship, and was evidently not intended to be seen. We observe, also, the great fullness of this portion of the head, more noticeable in profile. Taking this in connection with the presence of a number of holes in the marble above the line of the curls, we may conclude that the head had some sort of decoration, which concealed the unfinished upper portion. We observe the same workmanship in other statues with a similar arrangement of hair about the face and with indubitable traces of wreaths.⁵ What more natural, then, than to suppose, about the head of our statue, an ivy-wreath of bronze, with broad, full leaves?

The height of the forehead, as already shown, though not necessarily conflicting, yet seems unusual in a Dionysos. Furtwängler, in his excellent notice of the Berlin head, already referred to,⁶ says that it can be none other than that of Dionysos on account of the fillet in the hair which touches the middle of the forehead and there conceals the roots of the hair—a characteristic of Dionysos. *Die gewöhnliche Binde*, he continues, *wurde bekanntlich viel weiter*

¹ We see this, also, in the Monte Cavallo colossi, which exhibit traces of Lysippian influence.

² FR.-WOLT., No. 465; OVERBECK, *Plastik* (*), I, p. 276.

³ SCHREIBER, *Mittheil. Inst. Athen.*, VIII, p. 246f.

⁴ Cf. *Mittheil. Inst. Athen.*, VIII, p. 262, a figure in the Gruppe der schönen Greise, der Thallophoren.

⁵ Cf. FR.-WOLT., No. 1283 (Asklepios?) for arrangement of hair, for high forehead, and for a certain community of expression (*e. g.*, similarity of mouth) with our statue, though No. 1283 is bearded. It may be added that the fullness of the back of the head is far more Praxitelean than Lysippian.

⁶ *Sammlung Sabouloff*, text to Taf. XXIII.

hinten im Haare getragen. In älterer Zeit trägt Dionysos ganz regelmässig den Epheukranz um das Haupt und dieser scheint auch unserem Kopfe nicht gefehlt zu haben; eine schräge Reihe kleiner Löcher hinter dem Vorderhaar (darin z. Th. noch Reste eiserner Stifte) zeugen davon, dass ein solcher aus Metallblättern angesetzt war. Here we have something parallel to our statue. From the end of the fifth century there appears in figures of Dionysos, besides the wreath or instead of it, a broad fillet, like that previously described, above the middle of the forehead. This arrangement, derived from the symposial habits of the time and explained by Diodorus Siculus (iv. 4.4), was adopted as a peculiar attribute of Dionysos, and from it he derived the epithet *μτρηφόρος*. This fillet, originally separate from the wreath, as we see it in the Berlin head, was later for the most part adorned with ivy-leaves and ivy-berries, and came to form an integral part of the wreath (*mit dem Kranze zu einem Ganzen verbunden*). Such an arrangement is common in terracottas of Asia Minor and marbles of the Roman period. Can we now assume any such arrangement in the case of our statue? That the fillet was not indicated in the marble is at once evident; and without a cast it is impossible to state whether it might have been formed in metal and connected with the wreath. It is worthy of note, and plain in the photograph, that the hair immediately over the forehead is, near its roots, in noticeably lower relief than the waving locks which rise above it, and that, in the depressions of the curls at either side, a metal fillet might have rested with the wreath. This point, however, cannot at present be fully settled.

Before leaving this subject, I must again call attention to the paper of Furtwängler which has been previously quoted. He has summed up and characterized the features of the Berlin head in words which apply in great part to our statue, as well, although the eye is here not so deeply set. The breadth of the root of the nose is certainly noticeable; and we have also the same peculiar fullness of the chin and throat, which in our statue is even more marked than in the Berlin head.

The epoch and school to which our statue belongs will now be considered. As we have seen, it has in it no elements earlier than Praxiteles, while the treatment of the hair and perhaps the position of the head are rather Lysippian. We must, indeed, admit that a

distinctively Sikyonian element in the work cannot be proved to any marked extent, and it is certainly not in any way strongly Lysippian. It partakes rather of the character of a generalized post-Alexandrine or Hellenistic art. At the same time, we see in it no trace of the over-wrought pathos of the Pergamene and Rhodian schools, or of the archaistic tendencies of Pasiteles. These considerations will weigh in approximating the date of the work, particularly if we bear in mind that all its characteristics appear as fixed artistic elements and in no wise as inventions. That the work is Sikyonian is unquestionable.

The later history of Sikyonian sculpture is known to us through scattered references, especially in Pliny. Inscriptions also have of late come most serviceably to our aid. According to Pliny, Greek sculpture fell into decay after the time of Lysippos and his immediate successors, to revive again in Ol. CLVI. As has already been said, we have in our statue nothing of this *ars renata*, as it is known to us in the later schools. It must then be attributed to one of the successors of Lysippos; and, as we can trace no strong Lysippian elements in it, to some artist not under the immediate sway of the master—to one who displayed a spirit rather pan-Hellenic than Sikyonian.

So far as we can estimate on the data of Pliny, the activity of the artists named as followers of Lysippos must have continued into the latter portion of the third century B. C. Our knowledge on this subject may be resumed as follows—The pupils of Lysippos, who according to Pliny flourished Ol. CXIII,¹ were Daippos, Boedas, Euthykrates son of Lysippos, Phanis, Eutyichides, Chares of Lindos,² of whom Eutyichides and Daippos, on the same authority,³ flourished Ol. CXXI, *i. e.*, about a generation later than their master. Euthykrates had a disciple Teisikrates,⁴ while Xenokrates is mentioned as disciple of either Euthykrates or Teisikrates.⁵ From Pausanias, we learn that Eutyichides had a disciple Kantharos, a Sikyonian.⁶ Furthermore, the inscriptions collected by Löwy

¹ HN, XXXIV. 51; OVERBECK, *Schriftquellen*, No. 1443.

² Cf. OVERBECK, *Schriftquellen*, No. 1516.

³ HN, l. c.

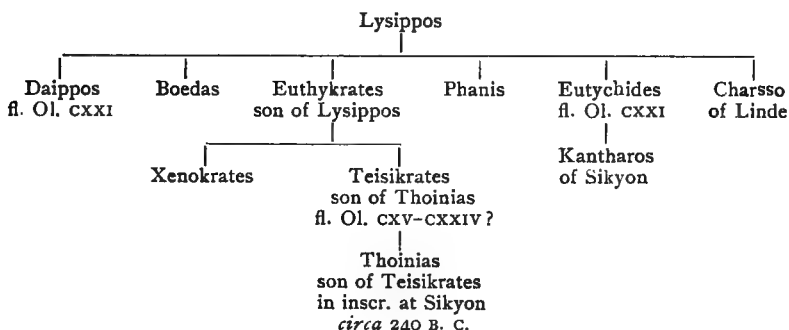
⁴ HN, XXXIV. 67.

⁵ HN, XXXIV. 83.

⁶ PAUS., VI. 3. 6.

(*Inscr. gr. Bildhauer*) show that the Sikyonian Thoinias son of Teisikrates was the son and disciple of Teisikrates son of Thoinias. The name of this Thoinias son of Teisikrates, moreover, occurs in the Sikyonian inscription No. 2, published above,¹ and assigned to the second half of the third century B. C.

Starting from Lysippos,² we may draw up the following artistic genealogy:



From the date assigned to the above-mentioned Sikyonian inscription, we may conclude that Teisikrates son of Thoinias flourished about Ol. cxxviii-ix, and that Thoinias his son continued his activity to about Ol. cxxxvi. But, according to Pliny (*HN*, xxxiv. 52), between the time of Eutychides and Ol. clvi *cessavit ars*; so that Thoinias may be reckoned among the last of Lysippos' successors.

Hence, we may say so much:—*First*; we have a statue of the youthful Dionysos, of good workmanship, a product of Sikyonian art: *second*; we may assign this work, on grounds of Greek art-history, presumably, to the third century B. C. and to one of the more distant followers of Lysippos: *third*; we know that Thoinias son of Teisikrates was active at Sikyon and elsewhere in the Greek world in the middle and latter half of the third century B. C.: *fourth*; we have in our work a certain pan-Hellenistic spirit, such as we may apprehend could have been exhibited by Thoinias.

¹ [See below, article entitled New Sikyonian Inscriptions.]

² Who was *αὐτοδίδακτος*, according to PLINY, *HN*, xxxiv. 61.

A NEW SIKYONIAN INSCRIPTION.¹



In December 1887, while I was residing at Kíáto, the chief town (πρωτεύουσα) of the modern deme of Sikyon, during the progress of the excavations at the old theatre of Sikyon, an Albanian peasant named Geórgios Agrapedákes told me that some blocks of stone containing παλαιὰ γράμματα had been found in a field belonging to him in the village of Moúلكi.³ On December 18, I went up to Moúلكi in company with my friend Dr. Eustáthios Tournákes of Kíáto, and there we found two blocks of stone, said to have been dug up some three years previously. On one of these the inscription, of which a facsimile is given above, was quite plainly legible.

¹ [From the American Journal of Archaeology, Series I, Vol. IV, No. 4, (1888), pp. 427-430.]

² These names are all to be found in Pape. Only two are cited as borne by Sikyonians, Aischines (PLUT., *De Her. mal.*, 21) and Aristokles (PAUS., VI. 9. 1; VI. 3. 11). A Mousos is mentioned (PAUS., v. 24. 1; OVERBECK, *Schriftg.*, 2080) as the unknown artist of a statue of Zeus set up at Olympia by "the *demos* of the Corinthians."

³ Moúلكi (Μοῦλκι) is situated N. W. of Basilikó (the modern representative of the upper town of Sikyon), near the Ποτάμι τῆς Λέχουρας, the ancient Ἐλ. It undoubtedly formed part of the old city before its capture by *ἡγεμόνων* Demetrios Poliorketes. Cf. DIODOR., XX. 102. 2-4.

The length of this block is 0.70 m.,¹ the same as that of the other, on which there seemed to be traces of letters obliterated beyond the possibility of decipherment. The height of the letters themselves is from 0.02 m. to 0.025 m., the former being that of the O, except in the first line. The stone is of a brownish color, fairly hard and of coarse grain. It is broken on the right-hand side, whence the loss of one or more letters in every word except the first and third. The characters, as will be noticed in the facsimile, are quite neatly formed and arranged nearly στοιχηδόν. I made a copy of the inscription at the time, as did also Dr. Merriam, to whom I exhibited the new find before my return to Kiáto; and, on December 22, I took a squeeze, on which the facsimile is chiefly based.

I will now consider the inscription from an epigraphical standpoint. The reading, as given in the facsimile, is quite certain; but the first and sixth letters in the second name, the seventh letter in the fourth, and the seventh letter in the sixth are somewhat defaced. The inscription, when complete, was apparently as transcribed above.

As regards the characters, we observe: first, the angular form and small size of the O, except in the first line (*cf.* Roehl, *I. G. A.*, 27a *Add.*); secondly, the four-barred *sigma*; thirdly, the angular form of the *rho*; fourthly, the form of the *chi*, as contrasted with that (+) of the Caere inscription (*I. G. A.*, 22; Roberts, *G. E.*, No. 95); fifthly, the forms of *mu* and *nu*;² sixthly, the form **Σ**=ε. On this last, special stress is to be laid, as being a point of the greatest importance.

That **Σ**=ε was a form peculiar to Sikyon, is not recognized by Roehl, nor does Roberts lay it down as a fixed principle, while Kirchhoff (*Stud.*,⁴ 104-5) still retains under the head of Corinth the inscription of the Caere vase (*I. G. A.*, 22; Roberts, No. 95), in which this sign occurs four times. I shall endeavor to show that not only have we no proof that the sign **Σ** was employed in the Corinthian alphabet, but that, in view particularly of the present inscription, the first one found *ipso loco* containing this sign, we

¹ The thickness of the block is 0.26 m.: the original width cannot be determined.

² *Cf.* *I. G. A.*, 21, 22 (ROBERTS, Nos. 94, 95) with *I. G. A.*, 26a *Add.* (ROBERTS, No. 93).

seem warranted in assuming that it was peculiar to the Sikyonian alphabet, which appears to have been pretty sharply defined, and to have developed with considerable regularity as well as conservatism.

The fact that no inscription has been found at Corinth, or to be with certainty traced to Corinth, containing this form of *epsilon*, when viewed in connection with the fact that ϵ in the early alphabet of Corinth, as well as in that of her colonies, appears as Ξ or Θ (this form being also employed for the η , and ϵ being usually written as Ξ^1), goes a long way toward a demonstration of non-existence of the form $\Xi = \epsilon$ in the Corinthian alphabet. The proximity of Corinth and Sikyon is nothing in favor of influence one way or the other; for Sikyon at least seems to have been conservative in a very high degree.

In this connection, we must, however, admit that too much stress has been laid on the peculiar local form of the name, $\Sigma\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$. Roehl (*I. G. A.*, 17) claims that the inscription scratched on a spear-head found at Olympia cannot be the work of a Sikyonian, because the early local form of the name was $\Sigma\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$, and not $\Sigma\iota\kappa\upsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$, as found in this case: but one is startled to find in the *Addenda* (27a) a spear-head inscription attributed to a Sikyonian, but apparently from the same hand as the last, in which the form $\Xi = \epsilon$ occurs in the same word. The similarity of the two inscriptions is most striking, notwithstanding this variation, the same unusual pentagonal $\circ$ occurring in each, and the forms of the other letters, carelessly made it is true, being essentially the same as those of *I. G. A.*, 17. One is also surprised to notice that Roehl reads 17, $\Sigma\iota\kappa\upsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$, rightly considering the three parallel scratches at the end as a mark of punctuation,² while he reads 27a *Add.*, $\Sigma\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\omega\acute{\iota}(\omega\nu)$, taking the perpendicular mark after the N—which is taller than any of the undoubted letters—as l, although such a form of *iota* is here, to say the least, in the highest degree improbable. It seems to me quite certain that we should read, here, simply $\Sigma\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$. The testimony of the coins cannot be adduced in support of any theory of a consistent local employment of the form $\Sigma\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$ in the fifth century at least;³ and, indeed, if the two spear-heads were engraved by the

¹ Cf. ROBERTS, p. 134.

² *Lineola quae ad dextram exarata est, non est litterae vestigium, sed finem tituli indicat.*

³ Cf. HEAD, *Historia Numorum*, p. 345.

same hand, we find here a confirmation of what we may gather from the coins, namely, that the local usage was not at all stable, both forms being used indifferently.¹ We are then, in my judgment, quite safe in numbering *I. G. A.*, 17, among Sikyonian monuments.

We must, therefore, guard against an assumption of over-conservatism on the part of the Sikyonians, but at the same time must not be led to assume that their alphabet developed with the same rapidity as that of Corinth, a point to be emphasized in estimating the probable date of the inscription now under consideration.

Roberts, who groups together the inscriptions of Corinth and its colonies and those of Sikyon (*G. E.*, pp. 119-37), distinguishes three periods, as follows (pp. 134-5): first, that comprising the most primitive inscriptions, in which *san*, the older form of μ (M), the crooked *iota*, the closed *spiritus asper*, the older *theta*, certain peculiar forms of *gamma* (C , C , I), and remarkable forms to express β and the E-sounds (B , B , or Z ²) appear; secondly, that comprising inscriptions "which exhibit the straight *iota* but retain the *san*" (p. 135); thirdly, that comprising inscriptions marked by, (1) "the adoption of the four-stroke *sigma*," (2) "the gradual substitution of the open H for the closed form," (3) "the introduction of the normal form for β " (p. 135). The first of these periods is to be placed as early as the sixth century B. C., the second would correspond to the earlier half of the fifth century, and the third to the latter half of the same century.³

In view of the arguments adduced in the course of the previous discussion, we seem justified in attributing to Sikyon both the spear-head inscriptions already alluded to (*I. G. A.*, 17, and 27a *Add.*). In one of these the form $\text{S}=\iota$ appears, and in both we have *san*. These, then, are plainly older than *I. G. A.*, 21 and 22, which belong to the same period and are to be assigned to the earlier half of the fifth century. Certainly later than these, again, is our new inscription, between which and those just mentioned I am in favor of dating *I. G. A.*, 27c *Add.*, which is, then, probably to be restored: $\text{S}\text{K}\text{V}\text{N}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$ or $\text{S}\text{K}\text{V}\text{N}\text{I}\text{O}\text{I}$.⁴ In both these last we find X

¹ $\Sigma\text{ικ}\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\iota$ is the reading of Fabricius on the serpent-column at Constantinople (cf. ROBERTS, p. 259.)

² " X " at Sicyon, at least in the 2d period."

³ For the grounds of this chronology, which seems very satisfactory, see ROBERTS, p. 136.

⁴ Cf. ROEHL's remarks *ad loc.*

retained, though in the former we have *alpha* and *kappa* of later form than in any other early Sikyonian inscription, and even later than in *I. G. A.*, 26a Add., a Corinthian inscription commemorating the battle of Tanagra (457 B. C.). In the last-mentioned, however, we have the normal ϵ , and α , ν , and χ of the same form as in our new inscription. In view of the latter coincidence, as well as of the conservatism of the Sikyonians, we need have no hesitation in placing our inscription at least as late as 457 B. C., and probably somewhat later. In fact, I would propose the following chronological classification of early Sikyonian inscriptions:

I period, latter part of sixth century B. C. (*I. G. A.*, 17 and 27a Add.);

II period, first half of fifth century B. C. (*I. G. A.*, 21, 22);

III period, middle and latter half of fifth century B. C. (*I. G. A.*, 27c Add. and the new inscription).

NEW SIKYONIAN INSCRIPTIONS.¹

(1) On the 1st August 1891, while engaged in archaeological investigation in the theatre of Sikyon, I had the good fortune to discover in the Albanian village of Basilikó, which occupies part of the site of Sikyon-Demetrias, the following hitherto unpublished inscription:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΦ(ΙΑΓΓΟΝΒ)
ΘΟΙΝΙΑΣ(ΤΕΙΣΙΚΡΑ)

It is inscribed on a block of black marble, built into the stairs of the house of Nikólaos Anagnóstou. The marble is broken at the right and also cracked vertically. Its dimensions are about .79m. in length (inscribed surface) by .51m. in breadth and .29m. in thickness. The average height of the letters is about .03m., the σ being somewhat small in proportion to the others including the Θ . The character is tolerably regular and slightly ornate.

In attempting the restoration of the missing portion of this inscription we begin with the second line, which may be read:—

Θοινίας Τεισυκρά[του(ς) ἐποίησε(ν)].

¹ [From the Classical Review, Vol. VI (1892), pp. 132-135.]

The artist here named is a member of the Tisicrates-Thoenias family known to us from the inscriptions collected by Loewy, *Inschrr. gr. Bildhauer*, 120-122, and from the notice of 'Tisicrates Sicyonius' in Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 66, cited by Loewy, *op. cit.*, sub 120). 'Thoenias (son) of Tisicrates' is named in three other inscriptions, Loewy 121, 122a, 'Inscriptions from Sikyon,' No. 2 (*Amer. Journ. Arch.*, Vol. V. No. 3, where see Professor Merriam's valuable note). 'Thoenias' (father's name probably lost) is named, apparently as artist, in another inscription (Loewy 122, classed by Loewy with 121 and 122a), and the same name occurs again as that of the father of a Tisicrates (Loewy 120a). The Tisicrates of Sikyon, known to us from Pliny's notice (*loc. cit.*) as a pupil of Euthycrates and the executor of works hardly distinguishable from those of Lysippus, is thought to have flourished down to about 284 B. C. (Loewy sub 120, Merriam, *loc. cit.*). On the basis of Loewy's computations and on epigraphic grounds the Sikyonian inscription No. 2 (*Amer. Journ. Arch.*, *loc. cit.*) in which *Θοινίας Τεισικράτου(ς)* is given as artist, is assigned by Professor Merriam to the second half of the third century B. C. But in approaching more closely the dating of our inscription, the general character of the letters of which alone would assign it to the Macedonian period, we must now consider the upper line.

The 'king Philip' on the pedestal of a statue to which the block bearing our inscription must have belonged, can be none other than Philip V., son of Demetrius, *reg.* 220-178 B. C. We may therefore reasonably read:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΝ ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΟΙ ΑΝΕΘΕΣΑΝ.

The intimacy of this remarkable monarch with the great Aratus of Sikyon, dating from the time when Antigonos on his death-bed sent the youthful successor to the throne of Macedonia into the Peloponnese to attach himself to Aratus and through him establish relations with the states of the Achaean League (Plutarch, *Arat.* c. 46) and continuing down to the year 215 B. C., is well known. Now there seems to be no other time in the long career of Philip when he would have been likely to be honoured with a statue at Sikyon except this period of his intimacy with Aratus. Indeed it would seem that only under the strongest of pressure would the Sikyonians have subsequently thus honoured the murderer of their

greatest statesman and his son. We may even perhaps derive data for a more exact chronology of our inscription from Plutarch (*loc. cit.*), who describes the result of Philip's mission to the Peloponnese in these words:—Καὶ μέντοι καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν (Philip) ὁ Ἄρατος οὕτως διέθηκεν ὥστε πολλῆς μὲν εὐνοίας πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλῆς δὲ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὁρμῆς μεστὸν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀποστεῖλαι. Among other things calculated to secure the good-will of Philip an honorary statue to him as king, even before the death of Antigonos, seems not impossible; indeed Plutarch's account of Philip's mission shows that Antigonos sent him as heir-apparent (τὸν διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας).

At all events there is good ground, even if we do not assign the statue to the period of Antigonos's last sickness, for assuming a date not much, if at all, later than the year 220 B. C.

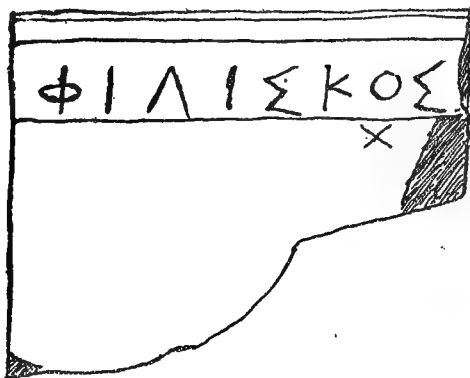
Now the execution of a statue to the young king, being a work of special importance, would have been committed to no inexperienced hands, indeed most probably to those of the veteran artist of Sikyon. We need therefore have no hesitation in assigning to Thoenias at this time an age beyond middle life. As we have seen above, the inferior limit of the *floruit* of Pliny's Tisicrates, who is reasonably identified with the father of Thoenias, is placed *circ.* 284 B. C. A pupil of Euthycrates (presumably after Lysippus's death) who executed statues of 'King Demetrius' (presumably Poliorcetes, *reg.* 306-283 B. C.) and of Peucestes, and who had a son still active in his profession *circ.* 220 B. C., can hardly have been born earlier than 320 B. C., or later than 300 B. C. Reckoned on this basis the activity of Tisicrates not improbably extended considerably later than 284 B. C. But for our present purpose this is a matter of small account. The question whether Pliny's 'Tisicrates Sicyonius' may without violence to chronology be identified with the father of Thoenias seems to admit of an affirmative answer.

There is therefore no reason to reject Loewy's identification of the 'Tisicrates (son) of Thoenias' of *Inschr. gr. Bildh.* 120a with the father of our Thoenias, or that of the Thoenias of the Delian inscription, *op. cit.* 122, with our artist himself. I have consequently no change to make in the genealogy of Sikyonian artists at the close of my article on the statue of Dionysus discovered at Sikyon (*Amer. Journ. Arch.*, Vol. V. No. 3, p. 303),¹ except to bring down the

¹ [See above, p. 246.]

floruit of Tisicrates son of Thoenias at least four Olympiads, and to describe Thoenias son of Tisicrates as artist of a statue to Philip V., *circ.* 220 B. C.

It may be added that our inscription further confirms the spelling of the name of Thoenias's father *Τεισικράτης*, which has been rightly treated by Professor Merriam as the Sikyonian form.



(2) In an outbuilding of Geórgios Pappadóπουλος (Γεώργιος Παππαδόπουλος), on a block of *πυρώς* .54m. wide by .26m. thick. It has apparently been broken from the top of a tombstone, the rest of which is said to remain *in situ* 'κάτω εἰς τὸν κάμπον', *i. e.* on the site of the older city of Sikyon. The average height of the letters is about .04m. Their tips are somewhat enlarged. The *ο* is rather small. There is a plain moulding at the top of the stone.

The inscription is to be read:—

Φιλίσκος [. . .]
χ[αῖρε]

This stone is either broken sharply on the right, or else the stele consisted of two pieces, the latter hardly probable.

Pausanias (ii. 7. 2) in describing the mode of interment among the Sikyonians says: τὸ μὲν σῶμα γῇ κρύπτουσι, λίθου δὲ ἐποικοδομήσαντες κρηπίδα κίονας ἐφιστᾶσι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίθημα ποιοῦσι κατὰ τοὺς αἰετοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιγράφουσιν οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ πατρόθεν ὑπειπόντες κελεύουσι τὸν νεκρὸν χαίρειν, *i. e.* the simple name of the deceased in the nominative, without an added genitive of the father's

name, appeared upon the stone, followed by χαῖρε. (The nominative is regular on Attic tombstones, even when, as rarely, χαῖρε occurs; cf. *e.g.* *C.I.A.* 3253: Αἰνησάρετος Ὀρχομένιος | χαῖρε).

If what is here said be taken as applying to the simple στήλαι, we must suppose in the case of our inscription either that χρηστός or another name in the nominative (in which case we should read χαίρετε) stood at the right of Φιλίσκος or that the χαῖρε is not placed symmetrically.

The name Philiscus is not uncommon, but seems not to occur elsewhere as that of a Sikyonian. Vid. Pape, *Lex. Gr. Eigen. s. v.*

This inscription, if we may draw any conclusion from such minutiae as the form of the φ, is somewhat earlier than the last.



(3) On a bit of πωρός lying in the courtyard wall of Γεώργιος Παπποδόπουλος. No information as to its immediate provenance.

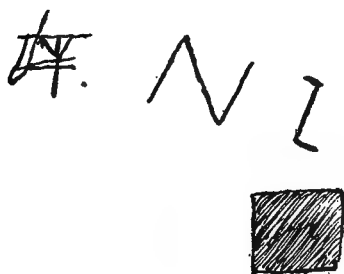
Height of Α .035m.; of Π and Ο .035m.; of Λ and Χ .03m. The form of the letters is such as we should expect in the second century B. C. or later.

We should perhaps read:

Ἀπολλ[ωνίδας
χα[ῖρε

For an Appollonidas at Sikyon, *vid.* Polyb. 23. 8.

(4) In the dooryard of a certain Soteropoulos (Σωτηρόπουλος), on the upper surface (as it lay) of the drum of a Doric column of πωρός, near the dowel-hole. Breadth of drum .76m.; breadth of dowel hole .095m.; height of letters .06m.



DOWEL-HOLE

These characters appear to be masons' marks. For other such at Sikyon cf. McMurtry in *Am. Journ. Arch.* Vol. V. No. 3, p. 273.

It may be questioned whether the second character represents Z or B (cf. the Corinthian form Z of the latter). The former seems clearly meant for N.



(5) On another block of *πωρός* in the same place apparently from an architrave. Apparently $\Delta\Gamma$, or $\Gamma\Delta$ reversed. Height of former character .085m.; of latter .065. Apparently masons' marks. The form of the Δ is noteworthy.

The architectural fragments on which these letters are cut were heaped together with a number of others and are evidently the remains of one of the Doric temples of Sikyon. They are from the upper plateau, the site of Sikyon-Demetrias, but no more precise information about their provenance seems obtainable.

[Accounts of the excavations carried on at Sikyon by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens were published by Professor Earle in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Series I, Vol. V, No. 3; Vol. VII, No. 3, and Vol. VIII, No. 3.]

THE NAMES OF THE ORIGINAL LETTERS OF THE GREEK ALPHABET.¹

II. From the traditional names of the Greek letters compared with the traditional names of the Hebrew characters we can trace pretty clearly the forms of the letter names as the Phoenicians transmitted them to the Greeks. It is important to note here what Professor Eduard Meyer has so well said in his *Geschichte des Alterthums* II 384 that it is a fact too commonly disregarded that 'every alphabet must be considered as a whole that is disseminated by being learned from a teacher' (das dadurch weiter überliefert wird, dass es bei einem Lehrer gelernt wird). But to examine the names of the traditional letters severally.

Alpha comes readily from aleph or alepha. Beta, delta, zeta, heta, theta, iota, six names all ending in ta, can be traced to beth, daleth, zayin, cheth, teth, yod. In the case of the last four the Greek form seems clearly due to the natural tendency to assimilate names strung together in continuous recitation. It has been said that zeta owes its name in whole or in part to the sibilant that is lost in the Greek alphabet—tsade. The explanation that I have just given of the name Zeta, which is that of Mommsen (*Unt. Dialekten*) and Clermont-Ganneau, seems pretty satisfactory; but it is a curious fact which has not perhaps been duly noted—if, indeed, it be of any real value—that if the Phoenician characters be written from right to left in two lines of eleven characters each the sibilant signs fall in a regular figure (thus: $\overline{\text{I}}$
W...V...Ξ) in which the lost tsade is immediately under Zayin or Zeta. Delta, which should, it would seem, be dalta, may have been influenced by δέλτος by popular etymology. Gamma cannot, of course, have come

¹ [This article is part of a paper read at a meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Columbia University, December, 1901, and published in abstract in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Series II, Vol. VI (1902), p. 46. The first part of the paper read was rewritten and published in full under the title "The Supplementary Signs of the Greek Alphabet", and will be found immediately following the present article.]

from gimel, but must be for gamala, gamla (so Clermont-Ganneau) from gamal. The form gamma would be due to the many Greek words (especially perhaps *γράμμα*) ending in *-μα*. It is of curious interest to note that the Greek names of the original gutturals all end in a geminated consonant followed by *-α*. Lambda is naturally the original form, not labda, and would derive readily from lamed, the insertion of the b (β) having its parallels in the familiar words *ἄμβροτος* and *μυσημβρία*. In the case of mu, nu it is clear that the former of the forms cannot well represent mem. It has been pointed out that rho presupposes on the one hand an original rosh (not resh), on the other hand a dropping in recitation of one of the contiguous s's in ros san. So here the other and older Gk. name for mu (my), viz. mo, points to mom nun, the former of which would become mon. The sequence mon nun samega (which last would be the Gk. form of samekt) would naturally become mo nu samega. The name of this last letter has commonly been traced in the Ionic sigma. Herodotus has been unduly censured, it seems to me, for saying that Persian names ended in the letter that the Dorians called San, the Ionians Sigma. This is as though one should say that in writing *Pickwick Papers* Dickens called himself by a name that ends with the letter that the English call Zed, the Americans—of the present generation—Ze. But, however this may be, the Ionic name Sigma seems to me not so certainly derived from Samega. The case of the jumbling of the sibilants is not clearly proved. Can it be that sigma is after all a significant name—isolated it is true—and that the later name omega had its prototype in samega understood (misunderstood) as sammega (san mega, *σὰν μέγα*)? When the other san was deemed a sufficient exponent of the sibilant and samega had become xei may not the one remaining simple sibilant have been called simply so i. e. *σίγμα*? O (σ) instead of *ὄνα* is like ei: thus the vowel names represent two types. (The added u (υ) is conformed to the e (ei) and o (ou) type). Pei, qoppa (koppa) and tau need no comment. San is to be regarded (with Professor Eduard Meyer) as practically the Phoenician name (shan not shin). The names of the supplementary Greek letters have already been sufficiently discussed.¹

III Of the Beta Signs.

The common Greek form of beta β or B can be readily ex

¹ [In the first part of this paper; see p 257, note 1.]

plained as derived from  or . Not so such forms as Theraean  or Corinthian . Lenormant's notion that the latter form was a modification of the current form made after E had given birth to the peculiar Corinthian e sign  seems manifestly absurd. It would seem that we can infer a good deal from the Theraean . In this character the  seems pretty clearly to be a stroke of differentiation. The letter from which the sign for b was to be distinguished would, of course, be . But had the Theraeans not had two characters practically identical for b and p, what need for the stroke of differentiation? A similar use of a stroke of differentiation may perhaps be seen in the character  = β . Did the Corinthian  come from this? Are we justified in assuming that two or even three forms of beta were accepted by the Greeks at as many different places? that Crete, Thera and some other places took over a form  which was variously modified to differentiate from the character for p, whereas most of the Greeks received and modified  I have said "or even three forms"; for what is the origin of the rho with a similar stroke? Can it be a widely spread differentiation of a  = c readily confusable with a  or  = b? There are surely important problems here.

IV Of the Sixteen-letter Alphabet.

In an article or rather a section of an article entitled *Die Theorien der Alten über die litterae priscae des griechischen Alphabets* (*Philologus* 52 [1893], pp. 373-379) W. Schmid reaches the conclusion that the theory of a primitive alphabet of 16 letters seems to be that of a Latin grammarian (Varro?) who compared the Greek and the Latin alphabets and assumed the common letters to be primitive, thus: A B C D E I K L M N O P R S T V. With this should be compared the theory expounded by Professor Sophocles at p. 14 sq. of his *History of the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge, 1848. This theory I do not remember to have met with elsewhere. It is certainly very plausible—far more so than that of the German scholar just referred to.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY SIGNS OF THE GREEK ALPHABET.¹

The following remarks about the supplementary or complement-

¹[From the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Series II, Vol. VII (1903), pp. 429-444.]

ary signs of the Greek alphabet have to do primarily with the letters Φ χ Ψ and with the question of their "Eastern" or "Western" origin, arrangement, and equivalence. Discussion of these signs may justly begin with a paragraph near the end of Professor Kirchhoff's *Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Alphabets* in which the question at issue is put with admirable clearness—a paragraph which appears in the same words in the fourth edition of the *Studien* (1887) as in the first (1863). "Since the new signs χ Φ Ψ ," says Professor Kirchhoff, "notwithstanding their (in part) fundamental difference of signification and their varying arrangement, are yet in both groups [*i. e.* in the "Eastern" and in the "Western" alphabet] obviously identical in form, and since this cannot possibly be the result of accident, we must assume that they were invented, if not contemporaneously, as it should seem, at all events at one and the same place, from whence they were disseminated. Consequently, since we cannot attribute to those that were used with different values a double signification from the very beginning, one of these significations is the original; the other, that which arose later by arbitrary alteration. Furthermore, since the varying sequence of the Φ and χ in the alphabets of the [two] several groups stands plainly in a causal connection with this change of signification of the χ , this variation too can only be explained on the assumption that the one arrangement is to be regarded as the original; the other, as the altered and secondary. The problem reduces itself to this: Which of the two groups is to be held to represent more faithfully the original condition, the Eastern or the Western?"¹

¹ Da nun die neuen Zeichen $\chi\Phi\Psi$ trotz ihrer zum Theil grundverschiedenen Bedeutung und abweichenden Anordnung, identisch sind und dies unmöglich zufällig sein kann, so müssen wir annehmen, dass sie wahrscheinlich gleichzeitig, jedenfalls aber an einem Punkte ursprünglich zuerst erfunden sind und von da sich verbreitet haben, folglich, da den in verschiedener Werthung gebrauchten eine doppelte Bedeutung nicht gleich von Anfang an beigelegt worden sein, die eine die ursprüngliche, die andere die durch willkürliche Änderung erst später entstandene ist. Da ferner die abweichende Folge des Φ und χ in den Alphabeten der verschiedenen Gruppen mit diesem Wechsel der Bedeutung des χ offenbar in einem ursächlichen Zusammenhange steht, so lässt auch diese Abweichung sich nur so erklären, dass die eine Ordnung als die ursprüngliche, die andere als die abgeänderte und sekundäre betrachtet wird. Die Frage ist nur, welche von beiden Gruppen als diejenige zu gelten hat, die den ursprünglichen Zustand am treuesten darstellt, die östliche oder die westliche. (*Op. cit.* pp. 173 sq., 4^{te} Auflage.)

In the next paragraph—the last of the text proper of the *Studien*—Professor Kirchhoff in his first and second editions declared himself inclined to favor the Western origin of the signs. In the third and fourth editions he says instead that, important as the solution of the problem is for other questions concerning the development of Greek civilization, he does not believe that the epigraphical data at our disposal afford a sufficient foundation to build upon either way; therefore he prefers to reserve his decision in awaiting further epigraphical discoveries. That he still inclines—or until lately inclined—to believe in the Western origin of the signs in question might be inferred from his still in the fourth edition citing them in the Western order; but the inference would, perhaps, be an unfair one.

In what follows I shall endeavor briefly to examine what has been done in the way of discussion and discovery toward the solution of the problem indicated above from and during the year 1886, in which year the fourth edition of the *Studien* went to press.

In an article on 'The Early Ionic Alphabet' in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1886 (pp. 220-239) Mr Ernest Gardner treated the symbols Φ χ Ψ as Ionic and transmitted from East to West (p. 236). "It is a recognized rule," says he (pp. 236 sq.), "to which there are few exceptions, that the symbols of any one alphabet borrowed at one time from any other alphabet, invariably preserve the order they held in that other alphabet; and that new symbols, whether produced by independent differentiation or by fresh borrowing, are placed at the end in the alphabetic order, or next to the symbol from which they originated, as our own J, V, W. But this is only possible when the symbols are not also used as numerals in their alphabetic order. If we apply this rule to the last symbols of the Western alphabet, $+$, Φ , Ψ , we see at once that they cannot be derived from the Ionian Φ , $+$, Ψ . If we take the last two letters only, Φ , Ψ , there is no objection to meet as regards order. Hence $+$ must have been there before. Now this $+$ is used with the signification of ξ , but in these Western alphabets the alphabetic place of the Phoenician samekh and the Greek ξ is filled by a symbol evidently borrowed from the Phoenicians, but for practical purposes disused, $\boxplus$. Evidently what had happened here is the same as what we find in the case of ρ and ν . The Phoenician symbol is borrowed, and falls into practical disuse; but a secondary

symbol evolved from it is placed at the end of the alphabet, and continues to hold its place in writing. Thus $\boxplus$ survived as a symbol only, but $+$, its simplified form, continued to live and to represent the sound ξ . And the new form was naturally placed at the end of the alphabet. Now when the Western Greeks, already possessing this symbol, came to borrow from the Ionians Φ , $+$, Ψ , they could not adopt the $+$, simply because it was identical with the symbol they already possessed, and used to denote ξ . But the other two they borrowed, and put after their $+$ at the end of their alphabet; Φ they retained in its original form; but for the guttural aspirate they needed a sign far more than for the combination $\pi\sigma$ and accordingly they made the other new symbol, Ψ , serve to denote that sound."

The words just quoted form perhaps the most valuable part of Mr Gardner's article, albeit the part least heeded, it would seem. Whatever may be thought of his derivation of Western $+$ from $\boxplus$ his assumption of an entirely independent Western $+$ and his explanation of the arrangement of the supplementary signs of the Western alphabet as due to a grafting of the Eastern Φ X Ψ upon an alphabet already possessing besides the A . . . V series an added symbol $+$ = ξ are at once bold and shrewd. But the lack of epigraphical evidence of the borrowing or adoption by one section of the Greek race from another of alphabetic signs with changed value left Mr Gardner's theory in the position of other guesses at truth, viz. in that of mere conjecture. The epigraphical evidence required to give it higher rank was ten years in coming. In the meantime several other people tried their heads and hands at the problem.

Before taking up Mr Gardner's successors we should note an important publication closely preceding his. Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in his *Homerische Untersuchungen*, published in 1884, gave it as his plain opinion (*op. cit.* p. 289) that the supplementary signs in question were of Ionic origin. Θ and X he would derive from $\boxtimes$. (Lenormant and Taylor had so derived Θ .) Ψ he thought a differentiation of Υ (in this coinciding with Clermont-Ganneau). "When this expanded alphabet came to the mother-country, Θ was received with unanimity, but the cross seemed rather a development from samekh than from $\boxtimes$; so it was employed for $\chi\sigma$, and Ψ for χ ; $\phi\sigma$ either received no special sign, or else a new

and not very successful one." Mr Gardner writes as though he did not know of this theory. We turn now to the later writers.

In a short article entitled 'Zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets,' published in the Athenian *Mittheilungen* for 1890 (pp. 235-239) and dated from Vienna in the preceding year, Emil Szanto set forth a rather fantastic theory about the signs we are considering. Starting with the theory broached by Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (as above), Mr Szanto says that it requires the assumption of the existence of a samekh with the value of ξ in the Western group at the time of its assumed act of borrowing from the Eastern. Besides, the influencing of one alphabet by another in such wise as to produce an unhomogeneous result seems to Mr Szanto improbable. His own theory is as follows:

Φ is common to both groups in the same signification. It must be older than the division into groups. This no-group stage of the Greek alphabet is represented by the Theraean alphabet, which must have been the common Greek alphabet. [It may be fairly asked on what grounds a purely local alphabet can be called "gemeingriechisch."] The Theraean alphabet expresses the aspirates by ⊗ H, K H, and Γ H, and ξ and ψ by K M and Γ M. The analogy is disturbed by ⊗ H for TH, but there is no real difficulty; for both theta and tau are Phoenician. But as ⊗ H was written for T H, so Φ H and X H could be written after the invention of Φ and X to denote the aspirates, an apt mode of expression indeed if the sounds were affricates. The Numasios inscription seems to support the view that this was done. If that be so, there was once a stage of the common Greek alphabet at which the aspirates were denoted by ⊗ H, Φ H, and X H, which gave way later (at least in the East) to simple ⊗, Φ, and X.—The oldest expressions for ξ and ψ were κσ and πσ. Between these signs and the Ionic stand the Attic Φ ξ and X ξ. [These should be rather Φ ζ and X ζ.] These are therefore relics of a once universal mode of writing. The Attic alphabet must not be regarded as an isolated phenomenon. From the Naxian β ζ we can infer that at a time when X was as yet non-existent and the expression χσ was therefore impossible, the expression hσ appeared more adequate than κσ. So we have to reconstruct a common Greek alphabet in which θ is = ⊗ H, φ = Φ H, χ = X H, ξ = X ξ, ψ = Φ ξ, in which, therefore, the newly invented signs Φ and X had already either the value of

ϕ and χ, or one very near it, one that could be rendered equivalent to it by the addition of an aspiration. [It is pretty hard to understand what this sound might have been like.] H was soon dropped after ⓧ. Next came the attempt to simplify the other four double signs. This was done by dropping the second element. So could be either χ or ξ (from ϕ H or from ϕ ξ.). Both were tried. Hence arose the double equivalence. Owing to the great territorial extension of the Greek alphabet at this time geographical groups were formed. The Eastern cancelled H and gained a χ but lost a ξ, which was supplied by samekh. The Western cancelled ξ and gained a ξ but lost a χ. So in the case of the labials: in the East they got a ϕ by cancelling H, but had to differentiate a ψ out of ϕ. In a similar fashion they could have got a ϕ in the West. But then ψ was not felt as a monophthong; so ϕ was gained as in the East. But a growing yearning for a χ led to the borrowing of the Eastern ψ to supply the want. "This solution," says Mr Szanto, "presupposes a unity of the Greek alphabet until the time of the giving up of the four double letters and their replacement by single signs, likewise uniform adoption of the idea of employing the simple signs for these sounds; from this point, however, the ways part, and finally a sign is borrowed from the East for the West."—The varying arrangement of the signs in East and West can be easily explained. The two aspirates might be placed first, the two double consonants second; or the two gutturals first, the two labials second. In the East, the former arrangement was followed; but inasmuch as samekh, keeping its place in the alphabet, was used for ξ, only ϕ χ ψ stood at the end. In the Western alphabets that have ξ ϕ χ the aspirates follow the double consonants; in those that have ϕ χ ξ either the principle of juxtaposition of labials and gutturals is followed or that of grouping aspirates and double sounds. In either grouping the labials have the precedence.

There are some "spunks of sense" in all this, but they are not enough to set the river afire. The theory found small favor with the next disputant, Ernst Kalinka, who, in an article, 'Eine boiotische Alphabetvase,' in *Ath. Mitth.* 17 (1892), pp. 101-124, dated from Florence, November, 1891, disagrees with Mr Szanto in many things. He too doubts whether any part of the Greek race borrowed a number of signs from another in such wise as to leave to one sign its original signification, while giving to others an

was invented to express ph (spirant). So X to express ch (spirant). We must, he says, assume the following principles [better, principle and corollary] in judging any alphabet properly so called: (1) Each sign is = a vocal atom (Lautatomon). (2) This applies to signs derived from a foreign alphabet and *a fortiori* to those that are newly invented in the alphabet in question. The history of the alphabet cannot be separated from that of sounds and dialects. Simple signs for the aspirates were used when the aspirates approximated the fricatives. X and Φ were spirants. The change of aspirates to spirants in Greek goes hand in hand with the repression of the independent aspirate. The consummation of the process appears in modern Greek, the most important phonetic peculiarities of which were almost all developed before our era, but were hidden under the crust of conventional literary speech and spelling. So we may assume, continues Dr Schmid, that the spirant pronunciation of the aspirates arose where the *spiritus asper* first gave way, *i. e.* among the Aeolians and Ionians of Asia Minor. The invention of Φ and X was the first alphabet innovation in the Eastern alphabet group. That is proved by the alphabets of Asiatic affinities that show Φ and X, but not Ξ and Ψ, viz. the Attic and the Naxian. Next came the invention of the signs for the assibilates. To Ξ the arbitrary value κσ was assigned. The assibilates were introduced before the seventh century. In the Western group of alphabets X was not taken from the Eastern, but independently developed (= κσ). This was felt as the first desideratum in the West. It is to be noted that the Western group is prevaillingly Doric. Κ Μ at Thera and Melos may perhaps indicate that the aspiration before σ disappeared early among the Dorians. The coincidence in form in + between East and West is purely accidental. "Already in possession of an alphabet of twenty-four signs, the Western group became acquainted with the three new inventions, Φ X Ψ, of the Eastern group. X = ch they could no longer use; for they had it, or a sign very like it, already in use for ks. Only Φ and Ψ were available. Φ was accepted with its Eastern value; but an expression for ps was not needed, and to Ψ was given the value of ch."¹

¹ I may note here that Dr Schmid's explanation of the place and manner of the introduction of the spirants ("aspirates") is *a priori* both reasonable and natural, and appears to be the only one that suits the facts.

Thus far the discussion of the problem has proceeded without fresh epigraphical discoveries. It has been somewhat complicated by the introduction of the question of pronunciation, but all the disputants have favored more or less the sonant pronunciation of ϕ and χ —Dr Schmid most emphatically. In an article entitled 'Die sekundären Zeichen des griechischen Alphabets' published by Dr Paul Kretschmer in the *Ath. Mitth.* for 1896 (pp. 410-433) and dated "Berlin, Dez. 1896," a new theory is proposed and, better still, a new epigraphical discovery is utilized, though not so fully as it might be.

With Szanto Dr Kretschmer agrees in one point: he, too, would make X a simplified $X \approx$ (p. 426). But he arrives at the former sign by a different way. In opposition to Schmid, he seeks to prove untenable the view that ϕ and χ could represent spirants at the time of the invention and propagation of the secondary signs (pp. 412-420). In this he believes he has succeeded. He next discusses the question, why the Greeks felt the need of a ξ . In the Naxian sign $\square$ [which, and not $\mathbf{\Xi}$, the stone shews] he sees, with Kalinka, a guttural spirant—or, at any rate, a guttural that was neither κ nor χ [the latter being an aspirate in his view]. So in the Rhodian Euthytidas inscription (*I. G. Ins.* I, 709) he sees in $X \approx$ not $\xi\sigma$, but a guttural, like the Naxian $\square$, plus a σ . He would place Boeotian $\vdash \approx$, which occurs side by side with $\Psi (= \xi)$, on the same footing as Rhodian $X \approx$. It is plain, Dr Kretschmer thinks, that in general ξ was not $= \kappa\sigma$. Was the X or Ψ of $X \approx$ and $\Psi \approx$ aspirate or spirant? $\mathbf{K \Xi M}$ does not occur at Thera: only $\mathbf{K M}$. But if in $X \approx$ the X is spirant, ϕ should be spirant in $\phi \approx$. But we have no proof of such a pronunciation of ψ , and Eastern $\vdash$ side by side with Ψ is against it. ξ and ψ are not, in Dr Kretschmer's view, parallel. ξ is $=$ khs passing to guttural spirant plus s . Thus, Dr Kretschmer thinks, we have got the key to the mystery. "We are brought to an alphabet in which χ is represented by Ψ , as in the later Western alphabets, and the guttural of ξ by X , as in the Eastern alphabets. This alphabet leads forward to the Western series: $X \approx$ could be abbreviated to $\chi = \xi$, inasmuch as the guttural spirant occurred only before σ and the omission of sigma, therefore, would cause no misapprehension." Again: "The Eastern alphabet with X for both χ and the guttural element of ξ represents

the older manner of writing. Since the guttural element of ξ was spirant, or became so, the necessity arose of distinguishing this spirant from kh also in writing. At Naxos a variant of Heta was employed for the guttural spirant. In the West a new sign for the aspirate (Ϝ) was invented that was diffused over most of continental Greece, and was carried also to Rhodes, Sicily, and Italy. In the East the quiescent samekh was employed for ξ. In Attica and in most of the Cyclades the old style was maintained." In the alphabets that employed ξ the phonetic group ps (phs) received a special sign for symmetry's sake, viz. the Western Ψ = χ. We have epigraphical proof (presently to be given) that a letter could be borrowed by one alphabet from another with change of value; and as for the inexact analogy of ξ and ψ, we know that Archinus compared ψ with ξ and ζ in recommending to the Athenians the introduction of the Ionic alphabet (Aristotle *Metaph.* 1093 a; Syrianus *Schol. Aristot. Metaph.* p. 940 b). The less frequent use of ψ also shews that less need of it than of ξ was felt. As for the arrangement of the supplementary signs, that has a phonetic basis. The aspirates always stand together. The original order was the Eastern. Ψ was added to Φ Χ. "In the West the newly invented aspirate sign Ψ must, on account of the phonetic principle, stand after Φ; Χ was placed either before the aspirates (Χ Φ Ψ in the Chalcidian and Boeotian alphabets) or behind them (Φ Ψ Χ in the Achaean alphabet)."¹

¹ I have thought it well to present here in a footnote some further notes on the first part of Dr Kretschmer's important article. Dr Kretschmer sets aside the discussion of the formal development of the supplementary signs (p. 411). He does so, it seems to me, with too great flippancy. The matter is one of great importance. His arguments for the aspirate *versus* the spirant pronunciation of φ and χ (pp. 412-420) are not convincing. These do not represent the view of all philologists competent to deal with the subject; and even Dr Kretschmer, as will have been observed, has to make a concession to the opposing view in the case of his combination of χ with sibilant. *It is this obstinate aspirate theory that stands in the way of the acceptance of so simple an explanation as that of Dr Schmid, and forces upon us some very tortuous argumentation* A MINUS PROBABILI. Dr Kretschmer's discussion of the reason for introducing a simple sign for ξ (pp. 421 sqq.) is not convincing, nor very consistent. His view of Naxian □≥ seems very forced. The Naxian □≥ was, I venture to think, developed before the introduction of the Ionic Χ. Dr Kretschmer says (p. 424) that only the fact that at Thera Κ Μ, and not Κ Θ Μ, is written is against the aspirate pronunciation of Χ (and Ψ

In the concluding section of his paper (pp. 430-433), Dr Kretschmer discusses the archaic inscriptions found by Hiller von Gärtingen at Thera in 1896 (see *Ath. Mitth.* 21 [1896], p. 252 sqq., and the *Inscrr. Gr. Insularum*), in addition to those that were previously known, and sums up our knowledge about the development of the Theraean alphabet. The first period has $\beth$ [$\beth$] = β (confirming by several examples Professor Collitz's view), γ = γ , θ = θ and η , $\otimes$ (twice $\otimes \theta$), ς or S = ι , Γ = λ , Φ = q , M = σ , $\Gamma \theta$ = ϕ , $K \theta$ or $\phi \theta$ = χ , $K M$ = ξ , and ΓM = ψ . But we can infer from a few examples, to be regarded as sporadic survivals, an earlier stage at which, as in Crete, K and Γ are = χ and ϕ respectively and Ξ is = η (cf. $\varsigma \Lambda \beth \theta$ in the Abron inscription). The use of θ for η comes from a psilotic region—Crete or Ionia. It is not native to Thera. In the second period we have $\otimes$, ς = ι , M = σ (koppa too is found), but the Ionic aspirates [as Dr Kretschmer calls them, although Ionia is to him a psilotic region] ϕ and χ have been introduced. We find also (perhaps more modern [though the reason for this designation is not plain]) ξ represented by Ψ in $\Lambda \Xi \epsilon \nu \Lambda$, $C O \Gamma \Lambda$, to be read 'Αλεξαγόρα. There are also (cf. *Ath. Mitth.* 1896, p. 221) one or two inscriptions at Melos with the same peculiarity. The solution of this puzzling use of Ψ is to be found in

= χ). He says further (*ibid.*) that the fact that if $\chi \sigma$ is = guttural spirant + s , $\phi \sigma$ must be = fs is a grave objection to the view that the character in question is = guttural spirant. Dr Kretschmer's statement (p. 424) that "die verschiedene Behandlung von ξ und ψ in den westlichen Alphabeten—für ersteres giebt es ein besonderes Zeichen, für letzteres im Allgemeinen nicht—weist darauf hin, dass diese Lautverbindungen nicht genau analog waren" falls to the ground, if the theory of a grafting of Eastern alphabet on Western that I with others maintain is correct. Dr Kretschmer assumes (p. 426) an alphabet in which χ is expressed by Ψ , "wie in den späteren westlichen Alphabeten, und der guttural von ξ mit X , wie in den östlichen bezeichnet wird." But this "missing link" nowhere appears. "Vorwärts," continues Dr Kretschmer, "führt dieses Alphabet zu dem Zustand der westlichen Reihe: $X \xi$ konnte zur $X = \xi$ abgekürzt werden, weil der gutturale Spirant nur vor σ vorkam, also kein Missverständnis entstand, wenn man das sigma wegliess." This is surely a clumsy process. Is it like the Greeks? Dr Kretschmer believes (p. 429) that the Aeolians "in archaischen Zeit, d. h. vor Einführung des ionischen Alphabet, das Zeichen X im Sinne von χ verwendet haben." Surely this is wrong in expression, whatever may be the fact, inasmuch as $X = \chi$ is Ionic.

the use (testified to by these [four] Theraean inscriptions) of Ξ for ζ . There are also examples of $I = \zeta$, but they would probably be due to influence from without the island.¹ Dr Kretschmer thinks (p. 433) that we have in this peculiar manner of writing proof that the Theraeans (and perhaps, too, the Melians) used the sign of samekh for ζ . [Would it not, I venture to suggest, be better to class the zeta with three horizontal bars with the four-barred epsilon that is found in Boeotia?] "So when the secondary signs of the Ionic alphabets," he concludes, "became known in Thera, the Theraeans took over the aspirate signs Φ and X for ϕ and χ without change; but inasmuch as Ξ was still used among them for ζ , and, for the reason previously given, they had no need of a special sign for ψ , they changed the value of the Ionic sign for ψ to that of ξ . That happened at Melos too, unless the $\Psi = \xi$ there is a Theraean importation. The great value of this fact appears to me to lie in this, that the change of the Western $\Psi = \chi$ to the Eastern value ψ thus becomes really plausible."

This contains an important element of truth, but we may draw further and, I venture to think, sounder conclusions. In the change of value of Ψ at Thera we see the result of a deliberate attempt on somebody's part to introduce into the Theraean alphabet the short-hand Ionic symbols for the double consonants and the aspirants in addition to the signs already there. The procedure must, it seems to me, have been as distinct and deliberate as that. The Φ and X would be taken "ohne weiteres," as Dr Kretschmer says; the change of value of Ψ was, as he also says, due to the pressure of $\Xi = \zeta$; and we must, it should seem, also admit, without, however, accepting his view of the reason, that greater need was felt of a symbol for KM than of one for ΓM .

We may now apply a similar course of reasoning to the introduction of the Ionic symbols into the West (and here we may make, with Mr Gardner, Dr W. Schmid, and Dr Larfeld, the assumption that the supplementary symbols in the West came from Ionia—or, more precisely, Miletus). Suppose a Western alphabet with $+\equiv \xi$ after Y . Suppose that the users of that alphabet, or rather some small group or individuals among them, deliberately sought to graft

¹ $\Xi \beta \Psi M = \text{Zeus}$ appears twice at Corinth (Kretschmer, *Ath. Mitth.* 22 [1897], p. 343 sq.).

upon it the Ionic (Milesian) supplementary signs for the spirants and for the double consonants that they lacked; or, more precisely, that they sought to perfect their alphabet by the addition from an Ionic source of signs for ϕ , χ , ψ ($\phi\chi\psi$), *in that order and at the end of their alphabet*. In the case of the first sign they could accept—and did, I believe, accept—value and symbol together. In the case of the second sign they could accept the value, but they could not accept the symbol on account of their $\phi = \xi$. Therefore they cancelled the symbol but accepted the value, attaching that value to the third symbol. They were thus left without a symbol for ψ . In this process we seem to see a deliberate attempt on the part of some one—an earlier Archinus—to enlarge the scope of alphabetic expression by the addition of signs and values together and, so far as possible, in a traditional order,—a fully conscious and systematic procedure. This rests on an assumption—on assumptions, if you will,—but the *reductio* has not been brought, perhaps (as I trust) cannot be brought, *ad absurdum*.

In conclusion I venture to call attention to another case of a change of value of an imported symbol (also Ionic) which can, I think, be detected at Paros, Siphnos, Thasos, and Delos. Here the close $\circ$ -sounds are represented by Ω , the long open one by O ; whereas the reverse is the case in Ionia (Miletus). At Melos we have a differentiation of the symbols for the $\circ$ -sounds in the same direction as at Paros etc., but in a manner independent of Ionia ($C = \circ$, ω ; $O = \omega$). Now the Parian and Milesian systems must hang together, and all plausibility lies in favor of the Ionic system being the original. But why should the Ionic symbols have been reversed in their values at Paros etc.? There seems to be but one reasonable answer to this, viz. that in an earlier stage of the Parian alphabet (perhaps we should rather say the Delian alphabet) a differentiation of the $\circ$ -signs had been made, either the same as at Melos—and hence connected with that method—or at least in the same direction. Upon this differentiation the Ionic differentiation was grafted, and the value of the Ionic symbols was thereby reversed, because the symbol developed from the O that was in use as a differentiative in the islands in question—or at the centre whence their alphabet spread—had the value of the close $\circ$ -sounds, not of the open. The Ionic (Milesian) differentiative had thus, on

its acceptance in the Cyclades, its function changed to that of the local *O*. This explanation may have occurred to others besides myself, but I do not remember to have met with it elsewhere.

I would emphasize, what I believe our epigraphical data warrant, the view that alphabetic shifts and changes of the character of those I have been discussing were made among the Greeks with full consciousness and after much deliberation. The arguments attributed to Archinus at the official introduction of the Ionic alphabet at Athens are but the last stage of a movement that derived, as Dr Schmid thinks, the spirant signs from the Phoenician ⊗ and added the symbols for the double consonants to *I*. That the similarity of form of the quiescent samekh to *I* had much to do with the scheme of signs adopted for the double consonants seems, to me at least, very probable.

I venture to add a few bits of supplementary speculation.

(1) If the early spirant pronunciation of ⊕ and the pronunciation among the Ionians of *I* as *ds* were demonstrable, it would be easy to set up a plausible theory of the way in which, in important particulars, the Greeks enlarged the Phoenician alphabet. ⊕ plus ⊕ X (+) could be the filling out of a spirant scheme (the forms of the last two characters derived from the first, as Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff suggested); *I* plus ⚡ and ⚡ would be the filling out of an assibilate scheme. Both spirant scheme and assibilate scheme would start with the dental. The similarity in form between *I* and ⚡ as an element in the process I have already alluded to. It may be added that ⚡ had already a place in the alphabet; therefore the fact that it precedes $\text{⚡} = \psi$ does not imply that it was used = *ks* before the latter sign came into use. ⚡ might be derived from ⊕ .

(2) We might trace the following stages of the development from the Phoenician alphabet into the Ionian (Milesian):

(a) The introduction (or rather, chiefly, adaptation and adoption) of vowel signs;

(b) The development and adoption of a group of spirant signs;

(c) The development and adoption of a group of assibilate signs;

(d) The development of signs for the open *E* and *O* vowels.

The question of the treatment of the various sibilants taken over from the Phoenicians must be dealt with apart.

(3) I have spoken above of a Milesian alphabet and of a Delian alphabet. Both would be connected with the culture that centred about important shrines of the great divinity of culture—Apollo. May not the great Delphic shrine have played its part? Should we say Delphian alphabet for Western alphabet?

APPENDIX

SELECTED POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Φρεδερίκος Μειούρωι Χαίρειν

Σμίλακα κηρὶ δαμέντα μαδῶν τετιγότει θυμῶι
σκληρὰ λέπαδνα θεῶν δακρυχέων ἐνέδυν.

Ἄλλ' ἔτι πολλὰ καὶ ἔσθλα περιπλομένων ἐνικυπῶν
νῶϊν γ' ἄμφοτέρωιν Μοῖρα πόροι κρατερή.

[This jeu d'esprit, written on a post-card, was sent as a message of condolence from a favorite cat ("Frederick Charles") to his brother ("Cocktail"), on the death of their uncle ("Smilax"). It is here reproduced as a specimen of Professor Earle's beautiful Greek script.]

POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS

DAWN IN ACHAIA.

The old moon dies within the new moon's arms;
Above the glorious star of morning shines
In limpid light; nearer the coming sun
Another star is fading in the glow
That gently heralds forth his majesty.
On the long stretch of sand the silvery waves
Tramp in soft thunder, shaking their white manes;
And there, beyond them, dark and sullen still,
Rises the long, sharp mountain-ridge, where now
Rests heavily a line of leaden cloud.
Landward the yellow line of garden wall;
Beyond it, vineyards and low olive trees;
And further upland, where the mountain-sides
Begin to swell in terraces on high,
The hamlets wait the greeting of the day.
Afar beyond them looks across the plains
And o'er the sea, where his proud compeers stand,
Cyllene, hoary-white with winter's snow.
But see! Apollo's golden car leaps forth
Above the horizon's edge, glorious in might.
And the god's arrows fly through azure space,
Smiting Parnassus with their flaming barbs,
So that his forehead and his breast are stained
As with pale blood ambrosial and divine.
And Hellas! would to Zeus and all the powers
That ruled thy heights empyrean once of old,
I might win from that wondrous mystic past
One hour, wherein my eyes might see thee smile
From where old Sicyon gazed upon the sea!

1887-8.

WILD FLOWERS OF GREECE.

Hard by the old gray stones they grow to-day,
'Neath the great pines, where the wind sweetly sighs
As if it were a dryad's voice that mourns
In gentle cadence glories of the past.
Their golden cups nod in the mountain breeze,
As though beneath the tread of airy nymphs.
And see yon broken stem, crushed to the sod:
Could one not think, but for our doubting days
When every man a Thomas is, and worse,
That the sharp hoof of some young satyr trod
Upon the tender blossom, as he danced
In merry measure to the pipe of Pan,
Holding his forest revels in this vale,
O'er which Pentele towers in majesty?
And did they grow, and were they blooming here,
When frank young maidens in those olden days,
When love walked naked and was not ashamed,
Roaming the valley by their lovers' sides
Gathered these wild flowers for their locks, or wore
Them with the ivy of their god entwined?
Fairest of chaplets for the loveliest heads
That ever drooped beneath the stroke of death;
For, like these humbler children of the glen,
They vanished and their places vacant left
For others joying in the vital air.
Ah! sweets of earth, ye are but brief at best;
Glad hours we have, while youth and love and wine
Tune the fierce pulses to a measure swift
That heralds but the hour of fate afar.
Ye flowers of Greece, Demeter's mother-smile,
Calm gladness for her daughter's safe return,
Ye do but hide the graves wherein the past
Is what we shall be, when our dust is laid
Far from this lovely nook, wherein yon gold
Mocks the vain wishes of the race of men.

1887-8.

Λείψανα

Εἰς τὰ δένδρα ἀποκάτω
 Μέσ' ᾽ς τοῦ δάσους τὰ λουλούδια
 Κάθισα καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου
 ἄκουσ' οὐλα τὰ τραγούδια.
 Καὶ ὁ Νότος μοῦ ἐφύσα
 Εἰς τῶν πεύκων τὰ κλωνάρια,
 Ἵν' τοῦ Ἑρωτος τὸ πνεῦμα,
 Ἑρωτος μὲ τὰ κοντάρια.
 Παρακάτω ᾽ς τὴν κοιλάδα
 Παρατήρησα τἀρείπια,
 Ποῦ τοῦ Βάκχου, ἔτσι λένε,
 Γεννηθήκανε τὰ νήπια.
 Τώρα ᾽βρίσκονται κατσίκαις,
 Τώρα ᾽βρίσκονται κ' ἄμπελια,
 Μόν' οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶς λείπουν
 Ἀπ' τοῦ Βάκχου τὰ θεμέλια.
 Ἄχ! γματί κισσὸν νὰ ᾽βροῦμε
 Καὶ ἀγάλματος κομμάτια,
 Ἄν ἰδοῦμε μόνον ταῦτα
 Ἀπ' τὰ παλαιὰ παλάτια;
 Μὰ δὲ βλέπεις πεταλούδαις,
 Σὰ στοιχεῖα μέσ' ᾽ς τ' ἀέρια,
 Γύρω γύρω ποῦ πετᾶνε
 Καὶ μᾶς φεύγουν ἀπ' τὰ χέρια;
 Προσοχή! νὰ μὴν ταῖς βλάβῃς·
 Εἶναι θεῖα τὰ ζωῦφια.
 Ἦι ψυχαῖς καλῶν Ἑλλήνων
 Παρασταίνονται μᾶς κρύφια.

Ἐν Ἀθήναις, τῇ 21 Φεβ. 1886.

EURIPIDES IN SALAMIS.¹

Salamis azure-ringed with laughing sea
 Whose salt lips drank the Persians' blood of old,
 Gem—beyond price of Asian hoards untold—
 Upon the billowy robe of Athens free;
 Sweet sun-kissed isle, yet reef of tyranny,
 Hallowed art thou, Muse-famed Ajacian hold,
 Where voices haunt and memory's ear enfold,
 Like drowsy Comus-song of thyme-flown bee:
 Thy caverned ghosts still speak through eddying years,
 Though 'twixt us disuniting surges flow,
 Bringing nepenthe and hot smart of tears;
 For on thy shore's gray rim, thought-steeped and slow,
 Pondered that prophet of our soul-deep fears,
 His shadow lengthening in the god's last glow.

ODYSSEUS.¹

Across the purpling bacchanalian waves
 That riot on the deep and tramp the shore,
 All steadfastly sea-swart Odysseus bore
 On ship, on raft, that wind and sea-god braves.
 What though his fate and course be gyvèd slaves
 In the stern Spinners' thread wound o'er and o'er,
 When in his ears there echoes evermore
 What through all peril he still, deep-yearning, craves?
 For, constant as the wheeling sea-bird's call
 Sweeping the wine-faced deep on snowy wing,
 Sweeter than Siren-music's magic fall,
 Or Circe's notes of far-melodious ring,
 From the home-island's suitor-wanted hall
 One true voice goals ten years of wandering.

¹ [From the *Bookman*, December, 1900, p. 372.]

HELLAS.

Murky the night and dark, in angry fits
The wind sweeps free;
Cleaving the shadows dank my spirit flits,
Hellas, to thee!

Under the violet heights where Pallas reigns,
O'er azure sea,
There rocking sails skim light, on billowed plains,
Hellas, to thee!

Where Zante's isle looms up, with castled steep,
To beckon me,
In lulling dreams I glide thro' phantomed sleep,
Hellas, to thee!

Ah! heart-sick, feeble-breathed with passion's flame,
In ecstasy,
Yearn I to revel, freed from thralldom's claim,
Hellas, in thee!

When death, all-vanquisher, from his dark prow
Beckons to flee,
May he with Grecian thyme wreath this cold brow,
Hellas, in thee!

Then like the daemon-souls, in ancient days
Fabled to be,
May I haunt mountain-heights, lapped in soft rays,
Hellas, in thee!

Jan. 15 and 26, 1890.

ATTICA.

In the sweep and cadence of Attica's pines,
The kiss of her breezes, the blood of her vines;
In the tremble and thrill of her nightingales' moan,
The murmuring splash of her sea's lulling tones;
In the blossoms and bees of her mountains and glens,
The rank grass that heaves over Marathon's fens,
Stirs the breath and the voice of a spirit supreme,
A message to prophets in ecstasy's dream.

Jan. 26, 1890.

THE PARTHENON.

In the hush of the dawning it rises sublime,
 'Neath the cloudless abysses of Hellas' sweet clime
 Thyme-kissed by the breath o'er Hymettus that strays
 In the bliss of the birth of long midsummer days.

'Tis a dream of the spirit of masterless mind,
 The essence of wisdom and sweetness combined,
 Springing keen as the eagle o'er Tempe that swings
 From the brow of the Thunderer, the tyrant of kings.

The shrine of our Pallas, fair gem of the crown
 On Attica's forehead from aether sent down,
 O'er the wine-faced Aegean it beacons afar,
 In columned perfection, earth's exquisite star.

Come bow to the Goddess from East and from West,
 Sing praises in honour of Athens the blest;
 Though fallen, she rises forever the goal
 Eternal that governs each fire-breathed soul.

Parmenides' chariot no farther could speed
 Exalted 'mid clouds 'neath the God's shaft that bleed;
 Crown high then the goblet Icarius gave
 And thrice pour the honour on Phidias' grave.

Feb. 15, 1890.

EVENING.

When evening's star, the bright,
 From the blue deep
 Beacons to me,

Winging afar its flight
 O'er mountains steep,
 Over the sea,

Speeds then my fancy light
 Fleeter than sleep
 Ever to thee.

Jan. 30, 1891.

SUNSET.

When the clear sunset glow
Pales in the west,
Over the sea,
Bright gleams the evening star,
From azure deeps,
Guiding to thee.
Then with dream-pinions spread,
Swifter than thought
Airy and free,
Cleaving the twilight dim,
My spirit flits,
Ever to thee.

Jan. 30, 1891.

The ripples lap lightly,
There's a boat on the sea,
And her lateen sail flits
Through the moonlight and dark.
Her pilot steers true;
They are speeding to me,
With a dip and a splash
As the sea rocks the bark.
What form rises dim
Through the gleam of the night?
Who is guiding the sail,
And what means the bright spark?
My heart tells me true:
'Tis a convoy from * *
The twin-brothers steer straight
To my soul as their mark.

Feb. 7, 1891.

MOONLIGHT

In a dusky street of a moonlit town
 My love she waits for me,
 Far, far away 'neath a southern sky,
 In an isle 'mid the azure sea.
 I know not whether her face be fair,
 Her eyes be dark and bright:
 But this I know, at the window there
 She yearns in the summer night,
 And her soul at the helm of the rocking bark,
 With its sails spread white to the breeze,
 Doth pilot me on to the haven sure,
 O'er the crests of the silvering seas.
 And when I shall walk through the sleeping town,
 To the house of my love at last,
 Though we knew not each other on earth before,
 We shall bridge the gulf of the past.
 There clasped in her arms in the moonlit dusk,
 In that land where the wind blows free,
 My heart shall rest on her warm soft breast
 And dream of the sky and the sea.
 Athens, Aug. 1891.

EURIPIDES.

Born at the birth of that which should be great,
 Born, as they say, upon that fatal tide
 When Salamis saw the Great King's navy ride
 Within her straits, the torrent east in spate,
 Yet saw it scattered by the stroke of fate,
 Unknowing Athens' subtle might to abide,
 While Grecian valour ploughed o'er Persian pride—
 Born with the birth of that young power elate,
 Thou wast the prophet of her soberer years,
 Thou wast the prophet of her stormy strife,
 Thou lookedst on her laughter and her tears,
 Thou saw'st her breed, unwitting, larger life;
 And in the eternal Hellas that should be
 Thou gav'st her spirit immortality.

[From the introduction to Professor Earle's *Medea* (1904), p. 14.]

CATULLI CARMEN V.

Uiuamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
Rumoresque senum seueriorum
Omnes unius aestimemus assis.
Soles occidere et redire possunt:
Nobis, cum semel occidit breuis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.
Da mi basia mille, deinde centum,
Dein mille altera, dein secunda centum,
Deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum,
Dein, cum milia multa fecerimus,
Conturbabimus illa, ne sciamus,
Aut ne quis malus inuidere possit,
Cum tantum sciat esse basiorum.

1

CATULLUS TO LESBIA.

Come, my Lesbia, let us live and love, dear;
And the querulous words of crabbed greybeards—
Let us reckon them all not worth a penny.
Suns gone into the west come back at morning;
But when our little light of life has set once,
We must sleep through the night that has no ending.

Give me kisses a thousand, then a hundred;
Then a thousand again, and still a hundred;
Then a thousand a third time and a hundred.
Then we'll mix the account of all our thousands,
So that we cannot know, and none can envy,
When he knows that we've had so many kisses.

Dec. 30, 1886.

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who have given their lives that the nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Ὁ γδοον μὲν ἔτος τουτὶ καὶ ὀγδοηκοστόν, ὧ ἄνδρες πολῖται, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ ἡμέτεροι κατέστησαν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇδε νέαν τινα ἀρχὴν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντες τῆς ἐλευθερίας πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἴσους εἶναι καὶ ὁμοίους κατὰ φύσιν νομίζοντες· νῦν δ' εἰς πόλεμον καθέσταμεν ἡμεῖς ἐμφύλιον μέγαν καὶ δεινόν, ὃς καὶ βασανιεὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην εἰ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἄλλη τοιαύτη τὴν γνώμην συνεστάναι δυνήσεται ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνόν. καὶ δὴ συνεληλύθαμεν τήμερον ὅπου ἐγένετο μεγάλη τοῦ πολέμου τούτου μάχη· καὶ ἤκομεν γ' ὡς ἀφοριοῦντές τι μέρος τοῦ πεδίου τουδὶ, ἵνα τάφος γένηται κοινὸς τῶν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τὰ ἔσχατα κινδυνευούσης ἀποθανόντων. καὶ εἰκότως μὲν καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα ποιοῦμεν· τῷ ὄντι δ' οὐ δυνάμεθα οὔτε ἀφορίσαι οὔτε ἀναθεῖναι οὔτε ἀγνίσαι δὴ τουτὶ τὸ χωρίον· οἱ γὰρ ἀνδρείως ἐνταῦθα μαχεσάμενοι εἴτε περιγενόμενοι εἴτε καὶ πεσόντες οὕτω καθήγγισαν αὐτὸ τῷ ἑαυτῶν ἔργῳ ὥστε μὴ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ εἶναι οὐ δεινῷ λέγειν ὄντι μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτε ἀφελεῖν μηδέν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ λόγων τῶν ἡμετέρων οὔτε σφόδρα ἐπιμελήσονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὔτε πολὺν τινα χρόνον ἀναμνησθήσονται· τοῦ δ' ἔργου τοῦ ἐκείνων ἀθάνατον ἔσται τὸ μνῆμα παρὰ τοῖς μέλλουσι γενήσεσθαι. ὥστ' ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς τοὺς ζῶντας κατομόσαι μὲν ἐνταῦθα διαδέξασθαι τούτους τοὺς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῷδε μαχασμένους καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἥδη εὐτυχίας μεγαθύμους προβιάσαντας τὸν ἀγῶνα, κατομόσαι δ' ὑποδέξασθαι τὸ ὑπόλοιπον ἔτι μέγα ἔργον μαθόντας μὲν ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν καλῶς οὕτω καὶ ἐντίμως τεθνεώτων ἀπροφασίστως μᾶλλον ὑπερμαχεῖν τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ ἐκείνοι ἀπροφασίστως μαχόμενοι ἀπέλυντο· γνόντας δὲ σὺν θεῷ μὴ περιδεῖν μάτην τεθνηκότας τουτουσί, ἀλλὰ πράττειν κατὰ δύναμιν ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἔθνος τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ πάλιν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐλευθερίαν κτισθῆναι τὴν δὲ πολιτείαν τὴν ἐκ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ^{ἡμετέρου} ἀφαιρισθῆναι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων.

‘τούτον τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἀειμνήστου *Lincoln* ἑλληνιστὶ μεταγράψαι ἐπεχείρησα τῇ ἑκτῇ Μαρτίου 1900’.

THE EVENING STAR.

Longfellow.

Just above yon sandy bar,
 As the day grows fainter and dimmer,
 Lonely and lovely, a single star
 Lights the air with a dusky glimmer.

Into the ocean faint and far
 Falls the trail of its golden splendor,
 And the gleam of that single star
 Is ever refulgent, soft, and tender.

Chrysaor rising out of the sea
 Showed thus glorious and thus emulous,
 Leaving the arms of Callirrhoe
 For ever tender, soft, and tremulous.

Thus o'er the ocean faint and far
 Trailed the gleam of his falchion brightly;
 Is it a God, or is it a star
 That, entranced, I gaze on nightly?

Πρὸς ἀστέρα ὑποφαίνοντα.

Ἐν λυμένος προχοαῖς, ὅτ' ἀμυδρότερον πέλη ἡμαρ,
 ἀστὴρ φῶς στάζει μαρμαρυγαῖς δνοφεραῖς
 κάλλει μόνος ἔτ' ὦν στιλβων κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον
 καὶ τρυφερὸν λάμπων Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοαῖς ·
 σπινθήρας δὲ χέων χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ κύματα μακρὰ
 οἷος ἐὼν σελαγεί ρίμφ' ἐλελιζόμενος.
 Τοιοῦτός ποτ' ἐὼν ἀνετεῖλ' ἀπὸ βένθεος ἄλμης
 Χρυσάωρ προλιπὼν Καλλιρόην ἀπαλὴν ·
 ἐκ ξίφεος γὰρ ἔχευ' ἐλελιζόμενον κατὰ πόντον
 οὔτω μακρότονον καὶ τρυφερὸν τὸ σέλας.
 Ἀμφινῶ δὲ βλέπων τόδε θεσπέσιον τὸ κατ' ἡμαρ,
 ἄστρον ἄρ' ἢ θεὸν φαινόμενον καθορῶ.

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- EURIPIDES**, *Alc.* 1-85 (102-103); 3 (13, note); 24 (50); 34 sq. (9); 37 (97); 45 (97); 64-69 (163-164); 77-136 (7); 112-117 (218); 120 (224); 120 sq. (217); 136-140 (4, 5, 6); 139 (5, note); 141-150 (7); 144 (10, note); 153-198 (6, 7); 157 (7); 158 (7); 167 (123); 170 sq. (8); 175-184 (8); 175 (8); 192 (8); 196 (9); 205-208 (51, 97); 224 sq. (9); 255 (115); 259-263 (51); 280-325 (100-101); 282-289 (93); 291 sq. (93); 317 sq. (123); 318 (64); 320-322 (94); 332 sq. (164); 339 sq. (39); 360-362 (94); 393-403 (9, note); 396 sq. (9); 403 (8, 9, note); 407-415 (9, note); 433-434 (96); 466 sq. (9); 487 (94); 501-506 (98-100); 546 (96); 777 (6, 76); 811 sq. (96); 837 (20); 876 (96); 879 (91); 995 sqq. (172); 1049 (97); 1055 (97); 1115-1118 (6, 11, note, 97); 1118-1120

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